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ABSTRACT

This volume is basically a reference grammar and may stand on its own apart from the teaching materials. The three volumes are cross-indexed according to the grammatical descriptions of the third volume. Grammatical descriptions are therefore almost entirely absent from the first two volumes, and persons interested in the description of the forms they are learning will find it necessary to consult this third volume. The general structure of the Aymara language is described, followed by specific chapters on the phonology, verbal derivational system, verbal inflectional system, substantive morphology, and brief chapters on the independent suffixes, the sentence suffixes, and the syntax. (Author/LG)

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AYMARA GRAMMATICAL SKETCH
to be used with
AYMAR AR YATIQAÑATAKI
(FOR LEARNING AYMARA LANGUAGE)

Martha Hardman-de-Bautista
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University of Florida

Gainesville, Florida

June 30, 1973

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AYMARA LANGUAGE MATERIALS PROJECT
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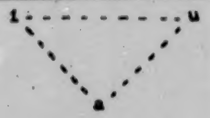
ALFABETO FONÉMICO DEL IDIOMA AYMARA
Escrito por: Juan de D'os Yapita M.

```
Consonantes:   p   t   ch   k   q          Vocales:
               p"  t"  ch"  k"  q"
               p'  t'  ch'  k'  q'
                            x       j
                   s
                   l   ll
               m   n   ñ
               w   r   y

                  Alargamiento vocálico "
```



Aymara aru
aru Aymara
a
r
u
a

```
isi              sapasapa                usu        usu
imi              sapasapa                ulu        ulu
iki             nasa  nasa               uru        uru
iri            mama    mama              uyu        uyu
iqi           tata      tata             uju        uju
isi          kaya  ala   kaya            uxu        uxu
imi         jaya          jaya            uru-i-a -u-uru
iki        sapa            sapa           uru  ururi uru
```

Aymara aru
aru Aymara
a
r
u
a

```
      laxa    q'asa   tama    qala            qala          aymara            ch"ama-chuchuqa      maya
     laxawa    k'isa   achu    qulu i        u qulu        aymarawa           ch'ama-chuchuqa     payawa
    laxalaxa    q'usu  tama    qipu  i      u  qipu      aymaraaymara         ch"ama-chuchuqa    papayawa
   laxa  laxa    k"usu tama    qipa   i    u   qipa     yatiña  yatiña        ch'ama    kawki     pusi  pusi
  laxa    laxa   t"iyatama     qipa    i  u    qipa    mayiña    mayiña       ch'umi    lawri    maya    maya
 laxa      laxa   taritima     qala     iau    qala   aymara      aymara      mich'a    mawri   paya      paya
laxa  wali  laxa   urituru     pata            pata  aymara  mara  aymara     mich'a kuna      pusi tamawa pus
laxa          laxa    tuyu     qapu            qapu aymara          aymara    mich'a  kuna    pusi          pus
laxa           laxa   tari     qäna            qäna jaqaru            jaqaru  ch'umi  kuna   pusi            p
laxa            laxa  tuyu     qäna            qäna aymara            aymara  ch"ama   mawri paya             p
```

"INEL" La Paz-Bolivia
- 1968 -

Dirección Nacional de Antropología

AYMARA GRAMMATICAL SEKTCH
To be Used With
AYMAR AR YATIQAÑATAKI

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PREFACE TO THE AYMAR AR YATIQAÑATAKI MATERIALS OF THE AYMARA LANGUAGE MATERIALS PROJECT

The Aymara language belongs to the Jaqi family, a family which is made up of three languages: Jaqaru, Kawki, and Aymara.

The Aymara language is spoken by more than one million inhabitants of Bolivia and Perú with the highest concentration around the shores of Lake Titicaca. In Bolivia, it is spoken in the department of La Paz, in Oruro, and part of Potosí. In Perú, Aymara is spoken in the departments of Puno, Moquegua, and Tacna.

The first comprehensive study of Aymara is being undertaken by Dr. M. J. Hardman-de-Bautista, the first North American linguist to analyze the Aymara language system with the cooperation of Bolivian native Aymara-speakers with linguistic expertise. The present pedagogical text of Aymara as a foreign language has been carefully prepared, always taking into account basic semantic and cultural aspects which make up a large portion of the Aymara language and culture.

The units which appear in the present text represent real life situations of the Aymara culture. Both the dialogues and the exercises have sprung up naturally from the very soul of the native speaker, from the Aymara man, the Aymara campesino. The materials presented in this text have been selected and compiled from their point of world view.

The alphabet which has been utilized in the present work is the phonemic alphabet constructed by a native Aymara-speaker who studied linguistics at the Instituto Nacional de Estudios Linguísticos (INEL) of Bolivia; this alphabet is one which reflects the phonological system of the Aymara language.

The materials which have been collected for this pedagogical text show the Aymara language spoken in different areas of the Bolivian altiplano. In order to make this work a reality, native Aymara-speakers have worked in close cooperation with us. So as to confirm the phonological and structural accuracy of the language, the tape recording of don Gervasio Maya of Llamacachi has been transcribed.

The authors who participated in the realization of the present work have been:

M. J. Hardman-de-Bautista, Ph.D., Director of the Aymara Language Materials Project. Dr. Hardman is a North American linguist who dedicates her time and her life to the scientific analysis of the Aymara language and to the comparative study of proto-Jaqi. Thanks to her valiant and unceasing efforts, and above all, to her capacities as a linguist, the present work has come to fruition and will serve as a basal text for the study of the Aymara language. Under her direction, the Graduate School of the University of Florida began the academic teaching of the Aymara language in 1970. The dedicated and unceasing work of Dr. Hardman fills a highly significant pedagogical function in the teaching of the Aymara language.

Ms. Juana Vasquez, Aymara teacher: a native Bolivian of bilingual parents and monolingual grandparents, she learned Aymará and Spanish simultaneously from childhood. She has done scientific studies of Aymara at the Instituto Nacional de Estudios Linguísticos (INEL) in Bolivia. The real-life constructions of the dealogues in the present text are due to her life experiences: they reflect the reality of Aymara culture. The pedagogical illustrations are due to her efforts, all of which reflect her intelligence and her tireless capacity for work; her efforts bring honor to the Aymara.

Mr. Juan de Dios Yapita, Aymara teacher: a native speaker of Aymara of monolingual parents. He studied linguistics at the Instituto Nacional de Estudios Linguísticos (INEL) of Bolivia. He has taught courses in Aymara on several occasions at INEL, has initiated regular courses in Aymara in the Language Department at the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés de La Paz. He participated in various programs for teaching Aymara in the United States. He initiated the publication of bulletins in Aymara in the U. S. as well as in Bolivia. Mr. Yapita constructed the phonemic alphabet of the Aymara language used in these materials, and contributed throughout in the development of the exercises. He is the initiator of the literary development of the Aymara language from the Aymara point of view.

Other collaborators on the projects were the following: Mrs. Laura M. Barber, who wrote on Aymara phonology for her thesis; Mrs. Nora England, who wrote about verbal suffixes; Ms. Lucy T. Briggs, Ph.D. candidate, who wrote on the topic of nominative suffixes and who is deeply engaged in the scientific study of Aymara. The work done by the graduate students was done with the aid and cooperation of the Bolivians within the project.

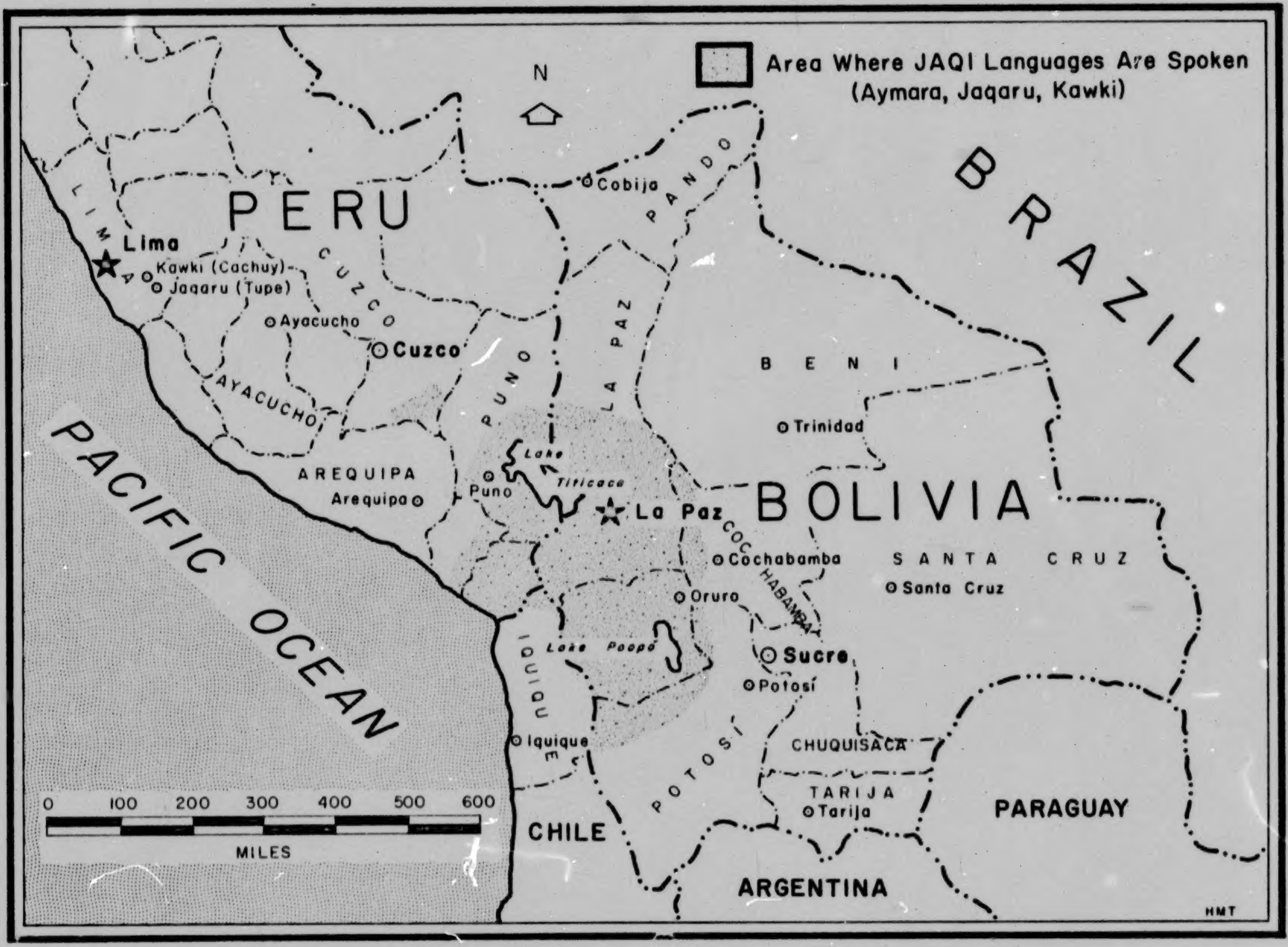
It will be appreciated that a highly qualified team of professionals worked on the project of Aymara materials and exerted themselves mightily to make ready the present work, which will serve as a base for the scientific literary development of Aymara.

Once Aymara is learned, understanding of the Aymara culture will follow; for as linguistic science tells us, it is the language which reflects the culture of a people. With this point in mind, the Aymara team members of the project hope to have accomplished a work which is in the interest of society.

Finally, the Aymara team extends its profound thanks to the Aymara community in its entirety for having given their cooperation during the development of the Aymara work, particularly to the inhabitants of the six communities of Qumpi in Bolivia.

The Aymara team would like further to extend its thanks to the Department of Anthropology and the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida for its cooperation with this project.

Juan de Dios Yapita M.
Member of the Aymara Community


Area Where JAQI Languages Are Spoken
(Aymara, Jaqaru, Kawki)
N
PERU
BRAZIL
BOLIVIA
PACIFIC OCEAN
CHILE
ARGENTINA
PARAGUAY
LIMA
Lima
Kawki (Cachuy)
Jaqaru (Tupe)
CUZCO
Cuzco
Ayacucho
AYACUCHO
AREQUIPA
Arequipa
PUNO
Puno
Lake Titicaca
LA PAZ
La Paz
PANDO
Cobija
BENI
Trinidad
SANTA CRUZ
Santa Cruz
COCHABAMBA
Cochabamba
Oruro
Lake Poopo
Sucre
Potosí
POTOSI
CHUQUISACA
TARIJA
Tarija
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0
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Kunjamtix yaq"a arunakanx taqi kun qillqasipxi, uk"amarakiw Aymar arunx qillqatäski, sapa maynis amuyt'iritanwa, uka amuyunakasax qillqasiwayañanakasawa.

Mä markax jisk'äpas, jach'äpas uñt'atañapaw, jiwasax jupanakar yatiyañasaw, uk"amarak jupanakax jiwasar yatiyanipxarakiñapaw, jan parlakipasipksnaxä, janiw yatisipksnat kunjamtix sarnaqapktan aka uraqinx ukxa Parlakipasipxañanakasax wakisiwa, uk"amarak jiwasan qillqasiñanakasax wakisirakiwa.

Aymar arusti, k'ach"at k'ach"at qillqt'atäskiw, akat q"iparux liwrunakas Aymarat qillqt'atakarakiniw, sapa maynis timpukipan yatuqapx ñanakamaw. Sapa maynis yatipxakiraktanwa yaq"a arux arüwa - Chinut sipna, Kuriyanut sipna, Turkisat sipna, Jaqarut sipna, kawkir arüpas, arux arüwa.

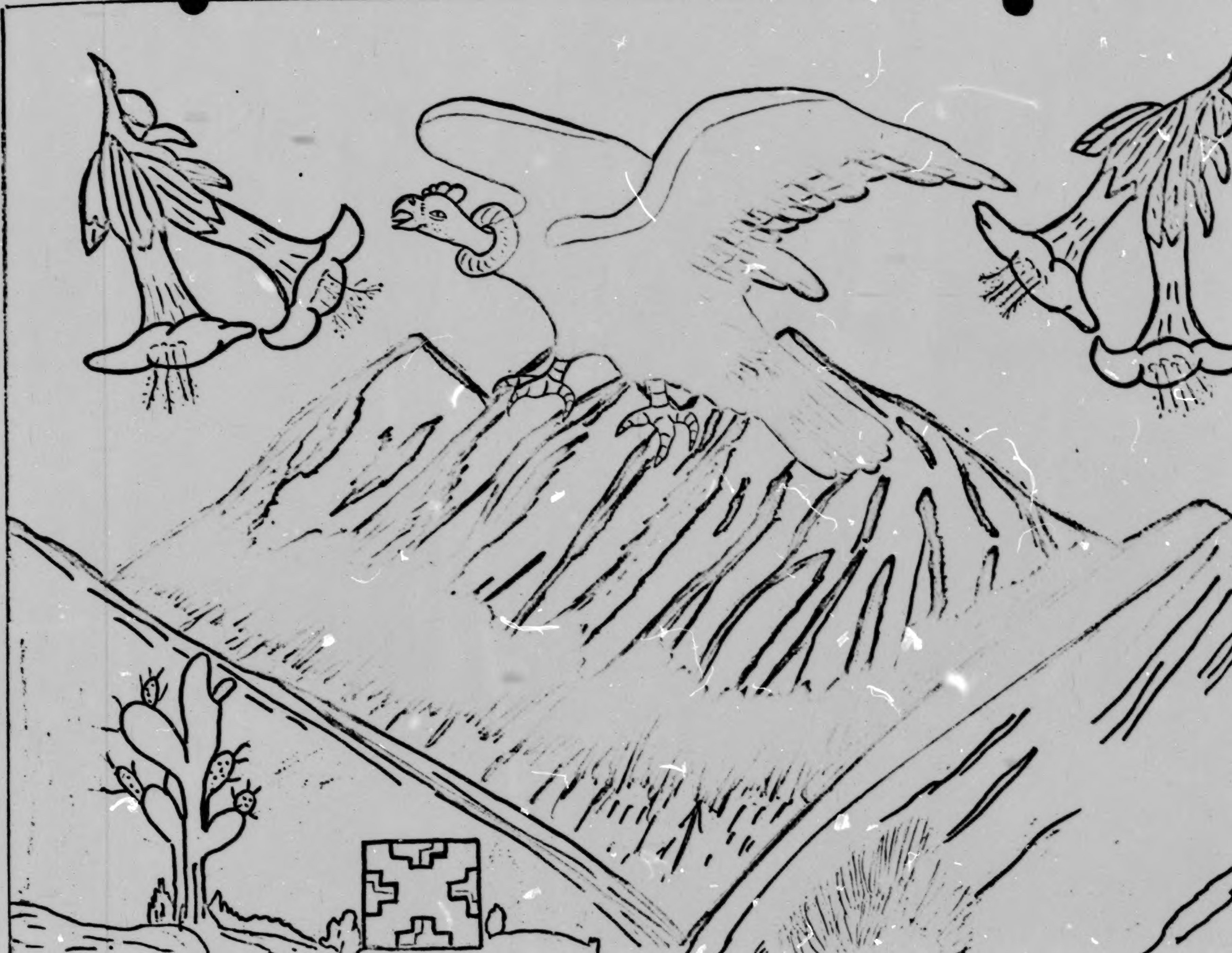
Kunatix Aymaran utjkistux ukanakax qillqasiñasäxiwa.

Aruk Aruxa chiqsas ch'amaw yatiqaña, parlakipasipxañanakasatakisti yatiqañasakipunïspawa.

- Juana Vasquez
Editor
AYMARA NEWSLETTER

Aymar arux jiwasatakix wali sumaw, yaq"anakax sapxiw - Aymarax janiw walïkiti - sasa, Kunats jan walïki - janit amuytan mä inklis, mä japunis jaqix arupat arupat parlakipasipxixa. Uk"amarakiw jiwasatakixa, kuntix parlktanxa yaq"anakatakix rispiturakiw aymar arusaxa.

- Prof. Pedro Copana
Qumpi-Bolivia



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Demography

Aymara is today a language of the high Andean plain between the highest peaks of the Andes mountains and of the shores of the world's highest navigable lake. Estimates as to the number of speakers vary widely; conservatively, there are at least one million; the real total could easily surpass a million and a half.

Aymara is the first language of approximately one-third of the population of Bolivia.[1] In spite of attempts since the 1952 revolution to facilitate greater use of the native languages in the ministries, in spite of the movement after the Chaco war with Paraguay (1928-1938) for Aymara as a national language, as Guarani is to the Paraguayans, and in spite of the recent declaration (1970) of Bolivia as a tri-lingual nation, nevertheless, those who speak only Aymara are effectively excluded from active participation in the power of the state. Even those Aymara who speak Spanish, but not natively, find barriers. The original impetus for the project of which this Grammar is one result was the desire of speakers of Aymara to apply linguistic science to (a) helping the Aymara overcome the linguistic barriers and, hopefully, the social prejudice justified or rationalized by the existence of same and (b) helping all Aymara speakers to appreciate the richness of their language, and thus counteract some of the consequences of the social prejudice.[2]

The Aymara speaking population in Peru is considerably smaller, both in absolute size (about one-third of that of Bolivia) and in relation to the nation (about four times the population of Bolivia). The problems, however, are similar. Peru also recently (1971) declared Aymara (with Quechua and all other indigenous languages) as an official language of the nation. In both countries knowledge of a native language has been declared a requirement for normal school students and others who will be working in community development and/or the rural areas. Also, bilingual education has been declared official policy. Both policies, in both countries, are yet to be implemented.

Although the Aymara community is politically divided by the border between Peru and Bolivia which divides Lake Titicaca between the two countries, the community itself is one in language and culture. Dialect differences are minor, as are cultural differences. The Aymara have maintained the essence and uniqueness of their culture through conquests, humiliations, serfdom, and whatever else others have wished to put upon them. As one Aymara woman, a strong, intelligent, gifted person, said to me, "The Incas came and conquered us, and then the Spaniards came and conquered us, but we aren't conquered yet!" One of the ways in which the Aymara have maintained their culture is through presenting to the world a mask which inhibits further probing - in fact, most social scientists have taken this mask to BE the culture,[3] much to the amusement of Aymara when they hear themselves described. Another facet of the culture which has functioned in this way is being blessed (or cursed - depending on whose view) with a language extremely complex from the Indo-European point of view and placing very high value on its correct, creative, witty, elegant use, with strong sanctions on improper, skimpy use (sanctions which readily apply to the outsider who comes on arrogant and rude because he does not know how to speak and therefore does not deserve the treatment ordinarily reserved for real people).

The Aymara are today a predominantly rural people, many living as subsistence farmers, many others as truck gardeners for the urban areas. A few, primarily in Peru, live as pastors of sheep or alpacas. Increasingly, a substantial number are urban. Education is very highly valued; parents make extreme sacrifices in order to provide an education for their children. In some cases immigration is necessary; in others, the community builds a school and then petitions the government for teachers and/or provides them itself. In individual cases, the initial sacrifice for the community school will be followed by immigration in order to allow a child to complete higher studies. Many become teachers; others enter the professions. Although some rural Aymara do break away from community contacts, the overwhelming proportion who do not is remarkable. The urban group from any one town will act as a translocated sub-community of the original one, and, in the capitals will lobby for the benefit of the community and render other urban services for their rural markamasi, who, in their turn, will keep their urban markamasi in cheese and other rural products.[4]

The Aymara have never been particularly sedentary, in spite of their rural culture, except where serfdom imposed travel limitations. The roads throughout the Andes, with Jaqi toponyms, testify to the ease of movement, over very difficult terrain. Today the women do most of the marketing, both wholesale and retail, domestic and international, particularly in Bolivia. It is, therefore, not unusual to find Aymara women who know little or no Spanish, who have traveled widely, particularly if they are from free communities. Recent settlements outside the area of primary concentration, include settlements in the colonizing areas of Peru (la montaña) and Bolivia (the Yungas), and a considerable colony in Buenos Aires, in addition to movements to Lima, Arequipa, La Paz and other urban centers.

Catholicism is the official religion for the Aymara and is necessary to the internal functioning of the community because of the compadrazgo system and the fiesta system, both of which require clerical sanction. However, the church as an institution and priests as a class are not well liked.[5] Pre-Columbian religion (and associated medicine, ritual, foreseeing) has persisted. Also, during the middle years of this century Protestantism had a great impact within the Aymara community. Apparently, from all reports, the people were attracted first, because the missionaries established schools, and secondly, because the work ethic preached by the fundamentalist Christians who went as missionaries to Bolivia dovetailed with the value placed on work by the Aymara.

This Aymara project itself, the amount of material produced, the care taken in the student volume on each page, the endless corrections so that no incorrect or even improper Aymara slipped by, the exquisite detail in

Ms. Vasquez' paintings, are ample testimony to the value of work to the Aymara and to the insistence on perfection.

The material culture of the people is dictated by the exigencies of surviving in an average altitude of about 12,800 feet (that of the Altiplano). Potatoes were domesticated in the Andes, and, with other related tubers, are the staple crop. Agricultural practices do not differ greatly from those of their neighbors, although land-holding does.[6] The dress is primarily adapted Spanish 17th Century dress. Tools are those common to the Andean area.

Family ties are widely maintained; kinship groups are reckoned through several degrees. Kinship networks are extended through the spiritual/fictive kinship of the compadrazgo system. There is also political organization on several levels, as well as fraternal type groups for such events as the fiestas. Community organization will also see to communal lands, irrigation canals, upkeep of public properties such as roads, schools, churches. The details of organization vary from community to community, in part reflecting the larger society. The Aymara, however, are good organizers.

1.2 Language family

Aymara is a member of the Jaqi language family, which includes two other known extant languages: Jaqaru and Kawki, both spoken in Peru. The location of the three languages is shown on the map on page 3. Both languages are spoken within 200 miles of Lima; there are approximately 2000 speakers of Jaqaru, only about 20 of Kawki, all of whom are of the grandparent generation. At the beginning of this century the Jaqi languages were more widely distributed, including at least Canta, north of Lima, other towns in the Yauyos valley, and some locations in the province of Huarochiri.

Archaeological and linguistic evidence point to a much wider distribution of the Jaqi languages in prehistoric times. Apparently at one time they were distributed throughout Peru as far north as Cajamarca. The Aymara were apparently pushed south in comparatively recent times - the main split coming at the time of the Huari horizon (± 400-700 A.D.).[7]

The relationship of the Quechua languages to those of the Jaqi family remains an unanswered question. However, whatever historical genetic relationships there might be would have to be at a very profound time depth. The two families have been in cultural contact, however, for at least 2000 years, and probably more. Apparently they have alternately held the dominant position. There is no doubt that they have mutually influenced each other: borrowings have been numerous (in which direction when is still unanswerable) and there may even have been some convergence in phonological and grammatical systems in those members of each family most intimately in contact. The area where phonological convergence is postulated is that of aspiration and glottalization.[8] In grammar, apparently some of the sentence suffixes, essential to Aymara, passed into Quechua as optionals (usually); a similar influence can be seen in the Spanish of the Andes today (e.g., nops, sips).

Work now in progress on Rroto-Jaqi, which can then be compared to Proto-Quechua, should shed additional light on these questions.

1.3 Data Source

Data used in the analysis presented in this grammar and underlying the teaching materials has been collected over the last ten years by Dr. Hardman. These materials were augmented by additional materials collected by Juana Vasquez and Juan de Dios Yapita as well as their own vast knowledge. Specifically for this project Ms. Vasquez made one trip back to Bolivia during preparation; Dr. Hardman made two.

Although Aymara from Puno has been listened to for comparative purposes, these materials reflect Bolivian dialects. The differences are not great; it is hoped that studies now in progress will pinpoint the differences that do exist.

Persons who contributed with data include the following (the list is not exhaustive - many contributed informally):

Pedro Copana - Qumpi
Martin Lawra - Llamacachi
Elena Pawcara - Llamacachi
Gervasio Moya - Llamacachi
Agustin Chana - Llamacachi
Nélida Yañez de Aguilar - Quripata
Gregorio Machaca - Cutusuma
Juana Mamani - Sorata
Eulogio Cachicatari - Taraco
Luis Valencia - Laja
Fermina Moya de Yapita - Tawqa
Basilia Copana Yapita - Qumpi
Rosendo Chambi - La Paz
Antonio Yapita - Qalamaya
Carmelo Cahuaya Perez - Yunguyo
Micaela Cruz de Asqui - Chuquito
Santiago Quispe Choquehuanca - Puno

The authors of Chapters III, IV, and VIII have acknowledged their sources in the introduction to the respective chapter. Time spent over the last ten years by Dr. Hardman would not be possible to calculate.

To all of those who have helped all of us - our grateful appreciation. May our work be of benefit to the Aymara community.

2. Study Background

2.1 Previous Studies

The first grammar of Aymara by a European was by the Jesuit priest, Ludovico Bertonio. In the same year, 1603, he published in Rome two books, the ARTE Y GRAMATICA MUY COPIOSA DE LA LENGUA AYMARA and ARTE BREVE DE LA LENGUA AYMARA, PARA INTRODUCCION DEL ARTE GRANDE DE LA MISMA LENGUA. Subsequent grammars have been largely copied, or miscopied, from Bertonio. These are the many grammars usually slim, by the "aymarólogos". The analysis in the latter is usually (to be kind) weak, and the Aymara is not always recognizable to Aymara speakers. One that might be considered of this class, but that is far superior, is that of Ebbing: AIMARA: GRAMATICA Y DICCIONARIO, Editorial "Don Bosco," La Paz, **1965. It has the weakness that** typically results from considering Aymara a deviant form of Latin, but he had spent considerable time listening, and, like Bertonio before him, often says more in the explanatory paragraphs about 'exceptional' items, or items outside the system, than in the organized paradigms.

Utilizing concepts, forms, and techniques of modern linguistics, the earliest was Ellen H. Ross, RUDIMENTOS DE GRAMATICA AYMARA, La Paz: Canadian Baptist Mission. The object was to provide materials for missionaries to learn Aymara. Some of the errors in that grammar were so well learned by the missionary students that they have come to form part of, and are the distinctive features of, Evangelical Aymara, a separate dialect.[9]

Building on Ross, with improvement but seen through eyes more dedicated to Quechua, is the work of R. P. Joaquín Herrero, S. J., Daniel Cotari, Jaime Mejia and of the Padres de Maryknoll, LECCIONES DE AYMARA, Volumes 1 and 2, Instituto de Idiomas, Cochabamba, Bolivia, 1969.

In 1967 the Peace Corps commissioned a grammar of Aymara for the Peace Corps Volunteers precisely because one of the trainers, Dr. William Carter, had used the Ross grammar and recognized its deficiencies. Unfortunately, the hurry of the Peace Corps headquarters precluded a worthwhile study; also, the particular investigators sent to do the field work felt that three months was sufficient. The Aymara they published when it is Aymara at all (and much of it is in error) is 'patron' Aymara.[10]

We cannot pretend that the current materials are completely without errors, nor that they are totally complete. However, although one of the authors is quite capable of error in Aymara, the other two have not permitted any false Aymara to go into print. Our errors, therefore, are not of the same kind. We hope to correct any that may have slipped by us. We also hope to include eventually that which we may have omitted in this study.

2.2 Previous Studies by Project Personnel

The Aymara Language Materials Project at the University of Florida started officially in September 1969. Previous to that date the three co-authors of the materials had had considerable experience and training which make this project unusual within its kind.

The preparation for the project actually began in 1958 when Dr. Hardman, then a graduate student, began studies of Jaqaru, a language not previously described, which, unknown at the time, is a sister language to Aymara. Knowledge of the structure of Jaqaru and the related language Kawki provided important insights into the structure of Aymara and hastened the discovery of the basic categories. Dr. Hardman first began studies of Aymara during a brief trip to Bolivia in 1963. The purpose of the trip was to see whether or not Aymara might be related to Jaqaru; a fact impossible to ascertain without a personal visit because of the almost total lack of materials concerning Aymara in libraries in the United States. The results were positive: the languages are related.

Since that date Dr. Hardman has made five additional trips to Bolivia and the Aymara area of Peru, spending a total of approximately four years, although other duties meant that not all of the time was spent in Aymara research.

During the years 1965-1967 Dr. Hardman lived continuously in Bolivia as a Fulbright-Hays grantee. Part of the work during that time was the founding, with Dr. Julia Elena Fortun, under the Ministry of Education, of the Instituto Nacional de Estudios Lingüísticos (INEL), La Paz, Bolivia.

Mr. Juan de Dios Yapita was a student in the original class of INEL. The Aymara Project as carried out at the University of Florida owes its conception to the ways in which Mr. Yapita perceived that linguistics could be of value to the Aymara community. The term paper in the phonology course was the phonemic analysis of the student's native language. Mr. Yapita used his term paper to develop the Aymara alphabet used throughout these materials. His is the first alphabet developed by the Aymara for the Aymara. It is esthetically pleasing to the Aymara (unlike the ones based on Spanish) and is being adopted within the community for personal use. After Dr. Hardman left Bolivia, Mr. Yapita gave courses in INEL on Aymara phonology for Aymara speakers, including the basic concepts underlying a phonemic alphabet, as well as how to read and write in Aymara. The enthusiastic response of Aymara speakers in La Paz, most of whom were already literate in Spanish, led to further plans.

Ms. Juana Vasquez, also co-author of these materials, studied linguistics in INEL with Mr. Yapita, and she, too, perceived a great deal of value for the Aymara community in the application of linguistics. She thus brought her considerable talent in art, in dramatization, in imagination to the project.

In addition to phonology, Mr. Yapita studied in Bolivia general linguistics, applied linguistics, field methods, and transformational grammar. He was later the recipient of a scholarship from the University of San Marcos to study the model bilingual education program in Ayacucho under the Plan de Fomento Linguistico. He also studied linguistics at the Linguistic Institute of the Linguistic Society of America where he served as teaching assistant in field methods. He has participated in professional linguistics meetings in the United States where he has presented papers.

Without the previous preparation, experience, and training of the three directors of the Aymara Language Materials Project, and without the dedication brought to the project, the accomplishments would have been impossible.

2.3 Project Personnel

In addition to the three directors and co-authors of the materials, Ms. Juana Vasquez, Mr. Juan de Dios Yapita Moya, and Dr. M. J. Hardman-de-Bautista, the project has benefitted from the help and cooperation of three teaching assistants who have worked with the Project as part of their program towards advanced degrees. Each of the three has contributed one chapter to this book.

Ms. Laura Martin Barber was with the Project during the first year, 1969-70. She is from Cocoa, Florida. She received the degree of B.A. from the University of Florida and then taught Spanish as a teaching assistant in the Department of Romance Languages before joining the Project. She was the first student to complete a degree in the Linguistics Program at the University of Florida; she was awarded the M.A. in linguistics in 1970. Chapter III, Phonology, is basically the thesis she presented in partial fulfillment of the degree requirements. It is the most complete statement of Aymara phonology to date. From the University of Florida, Ms. Barber went to Cleveland State University to teach Spanish and to develop courses in linguistics and communication. Her interest in Aymara continues, primarily in intonation.

Ms. Nora Clearman England first worked with Aymara as a student in the field methods course, then joined the Project for the year 1970-71. Ms. England is from New York; she came to the Project with a B.A. in anthropology from Bryn Mawr College with some training in linguistics. She completed the M.A. in anthropology with concentration in linguistics and was awarded her degree in 1971. Chapter VI, Verbal Derivational Suffixes, is basically the thesis she presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree. This particular class of suffixes is one of the most fascinating in Aymara, and one of the most bedeviling for language learners - not unlike prepositions with verbs in English. Upon leaving the University of Florida, Ms. England joined the Projecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquin in Guatemala to work in the description of Mayan languages, teach linguistics to the Mayan people, and help in the development of materials for the Mayan languages.

Ms. Lucy Therina Briggs came to the University of Florida in the fall of 1970 to join the Aymara Project. From Washington, Ms. Briggs came to the Project, after a diplomatic career in the Department of State, with an M.S. from Georgetown University in linguistics and with a near native command of Spanish from childhood years spent in Latin America. She entered the Linguistics Program for the Ph.D. She was with the Project as a teaching assistant during the school year 1970-71: for the years 1971-72 and 1972-73 she was awarded a National Science Foundation graduate fellowship in order to complete her work for the Ph.D. with research emphasis in Aymara. She plans her dissertation as a study of the Aymara dialects of both Peru and Bolivia, necessary basic research both for the diffusion of Aymara materials and for bilingual education programs. Chapter VIII, Structure of the Substantive System, came out of a term paper for a course in morphosyntax. The chapter goes much beyond a typical term paper; as an original contribution to knowledge and as a thorough study of this aspect of the Aymara structure, it surpasses many a thesis.

Part of the purpose of the Aymara Project is to expand the knowledge concerning the language and at the same time train people who can then contribute on their own. We feel fortunate that we have had the opportunity to work with such able assistants; we trust the experience was equally valuable for all of us who have worked so intensively together in common cause.

3. Organization of the Grammar

Chapters III, VI, and VIII are written by persons who were teaching assistants with the project; the preface is written by Mr. Yapita; all other chapters have been written by the editor-in-chief. However, the actual analysis was discussed in detail with Mr. Yapita and to a lesser extent with Ms. Vasquez, who, however, checked all of the data. Some sections were originally outlined in Spanish and/or Aymara by Mr. Yapita.

Independently of who authored which chapter, the whole Aymara team has worked as a unit over the whole of the language; all have contributed to each section. The discussions concerning analysis have been enlightening to all of us. It would be impossible to acknowledge the individual contributions other than the responsibility for the chapters as already indicated.

3.1 Symbolization

Inevitably, because of the number of authors, there is some variation in symbolization and nomenclature. More than different authors, however, much of the variation reflects increasing improvement in analysis; each thesis or term paper builds on those which preceded. Where possible, corrections have been made, if the matter was in error. If the apparently conflicting analyses both represent possible ways of explaining the structure, no attempt has been made to iron out the differences.

Except in the Phonology chapter, where the topic demanded phonetic precision, the alphabet developed by Mr. Yapita has been used. It is found among the title pages. The only deviation is that for purposes of dividing morphemes, the dieresis (¨) is replaced by a colon (:). The two symbols should be read as equivalent.

The different authors find different writing styles congenial. We hope the reader will, too. Certainly, for some readers, concepts will be clearer in one style than in another. In this volume the reader may sample several.

3.2 Chapter Outline

The chapters written by the editor-in-chief are all briefer, less complete than the chapters written by the teaching assistants. It is hoped that future studies by students will make them as complete as the teaching assistant chapters now.

Chapter II discusses briefly the overall structure of Aymara and describes a few of the linguistics postulates of the language which cut across all grammatical categories and all levels.

Chapter III, Phonology, by Laura Martin Barber, constitutes the initial statement of the phonological system of Aymara. The consonant and vowel phonemes of Aymara are described, and their distribution both individually and in clusters is presented. A partial description of stress, sound change, borrowing, and dialect variation is included. Some areas where further research is necessary are noted, in view of the fact that no satisfactory description of the sound system of Aymara has been previously done.

Chapter IV, Morphophonemics, lists all of the known suffixes of the language according to their morphophonemic characteristics. Syntactically determined morphophonemics are also discussed. The chapter is very brief; additional information is available in each chapter; morphophonemics is largely morphologically tied in Aymara and thus must be included for each morpheme class.

Chapter V, General Morphology, discusses the structure of the Aymara word, the nature of the Aymara interrogative, and general morphological patterning which is of general importance beyond that of any one class. Also, some terms generally used throughout the book are defined.

Chapter VI, Verbal Derivational Suffixes, by Nora Clearman England, is a description of one class of verb suffixes in Aymara which combine with verb roots to form verb stems. Thirty-two suffixes and five frozen suffixes are described. Criteria for dividing the suffixes into two sets, one of which acts on the root of the verb, and one of which acts on the inflection, are explained. Each of the suffixes is analyzed separately, and then the functions of all the suffixes are compared. Suggestions for further research are noted, in that some description of the suffixes will have to wait for further research in the other parts of the language.

Chapter VII, Verbal Inflectional Suffixes, lists all inflectional forms with relevant information as to basic categories, co-occurrence possibilities, and a few guidelines as to specific usage.

Chapter VIII, Structure of the Substantive System, by Lucy Therina Briggs, describes the substantive suffixes, roots, compounds, theme-formatives related to the substantive system, substantive phrases and some aspects of syntax related to the substantive system. The first part of this chapter cites the classes of Aymara substantive roots. Next, verbal suffixes which may verbalize substantive roots are listed, and verbal derivational suffixes which nominalize verb roots are described. The main part of the chapter establishes three order classes for Aymara substantive suffixes and provides a structural description of their distribution, function, and morphophonemics. Class I suffixes include locationals expressive of spatial orientation, possessives, the plural suffix, a conjoiner suffix and an all-inclusive suffix. Class II suffixes are the relational complement suffixes, three final substantive suffixes, and the zero complement suffix: vowel dropping. Class III suffixes are those which verbalize substantive roots or stems. A morphophonemic summary, a section on complex substantive formations, and suggestions for further research complete the chapter.

Chapter IX, *Theme Formation*, brings together all verbalization and nominalization, refers the reader to the appropriate sections in other chapters, and illustrates the recurrences of theme formation possibilities in Aymara.

Chapter X, *Independent Suffixes*, describes that small closed class of suffixes which may occur on any root, stem, or theme independently of the class of the latter.

Chapter XI, *Sentence Suffixes*, describes the suffixes which define and determine the sentence in Aymara.

Chapter XII, *Syntax*, discusses very briefly the more important sentence types which are a result of the distribution and/or co-occurrence (within the same sentence) possibilities of sentence suffixes. Some embedding procedures are described. Relationships between sentence types are explained.

Although this *Grammar* expressly accompanies *Aymar Ar Yatiqañataki*, the grammatical structure of Aymara described herein has taken into account a vast amount of data and therefore purports to be valid for the language as a whole. Dialectal differences are only marginally included - when they happened to come up between the two Aymara co-authors. And they *did* come up because each came from a seaparate dialect area. It is quite likely that we have overlooked some infrequent suffix or two; we doubt any such discovery would alter the structural plan presented; most likely it would simply be added at the appropriate place. All due care has been taken to correct all errors; however, we have discovered that, working so closely with the materials, it is sometimes possible not to see what is in front of one.[11] Furthermore, because of the nature of the materials, no one outside the team could proofread. For those errors that may have escaped us yet, we apologize.

FOOTNOTES

1. Quechua enthusiasts dispute this statistic claiming much higher figures for their language. Many persons who speak Aymara also know some Quechua because of its market utility throughout Peru and into Argentina; also, the prestige of Quechua from Inca fame influences guesstimates. The figure here given is based on what census material is available and personal observation: approximately one third of the Bolivian population has as its mother tongue one of the three major languages: Aymara, Quechua, Spanish. This leaves Spanish as a minority language. Bilingualism and even trilingualism is common.

2. In addition to the many materials that are officially mentioned as having resulted from the project, others were prepared specifically for the Aymara community, directly in response to the problems mentioned by Yapita and Vasquez. These include (the list is not exclusive):
AYMARA NEWSLETTER(a monthly publication with world news and items of general interest and culture, in Aymara, from the Aymara point of view, for the Aymara: now in its fourth year of publication);
YATIÑASAWA (materials pedagogically designed for the cultural edification of the adult Aymara with little or no Spanish);
FIRST TEXTBOOK IN AYMARA LITERACY FOR AYMARA SPEAKERS 1970 (for teaching the basic letters of the Aymara alphabet):
SISTEMA YAWA AYMAR LIYIÑ QILLQAÑ YATIQAÑATAKI (materials for the teaching of reading and writing by correspondence - a course carried out during two years from the University of Florida).

3. Even anthropologists, e.g., Tchopik (Harry, Jr., "The Aymara" in HANDBOOK OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS, ed. Julian H. Steward, II, 501-79. U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington) and La Barre (Weston, 1948 "The Aymara Indians of the Lake Titicaca Plateau, Bolivia," AAA Memoir #68). Even more current studies are not immune, e.g., Buechler (Hans C. and Judith-Marna Buechler, 1971, THE BOLIVIAN AYMARA, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc).

4. The urban 'cultural centers' are more formally organized in Lima, Peru (including even soccer tournaments) than in La Paz, Bolivia, but they nevertheless operate quite efficiently in both countries.

5. The Lord's Prayer, for example, was translated nanakan awkixa 'our Father, but not yours' (not what most Christians assume it means)· this was accepted by the Aymara as perfectly logical - we must worship the white man's God who obviously isn't ours. I have heard the prayer recited in this form even now. Also, the pishtaco (Aymara k"arik"ari, saca mantecas or Indian-Lard-Reducer - a much feared 'bogey-man' type) among the Aymara, is believed to be either the priest himself or sent by him.

6. Carter, William E. 1965, AYMARA COMMUNITIES AND THE BOLIVIAN AGRARIAN REFORM. University of Florida Monographs in Social Sciences, #24. Gainesville, Florida, University of Florida Press.

7. One of the best studies of the prehistoric relationships of the Jaqi and Quechua families and reconstruction of language distribution is Alfredo Torero, "Linguistica e Historia de la Sociedad Andina," in Alberto Escobar, ed., RETO DEL MULTILIGUISMO EN EL PERU, Peru - Problema 9, IEP Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1972.

8. Hardman, M. J.: Discussion of paper by Lanham, PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF LINGUISTS, Mouton and Co. 1964 (p. 690). Also - "Andean Languages: Problems in Comparison and Classification", with Gary Parker, Cornell Linguistics Club, December, 1962.

Parker, Gary J.: WORKING PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS, Department of Linguistics, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Issues No. 1, 2, & 9. Also - COMPARATIVE QUECHUA PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR V: THE EVOLUTION OF QUECHUA B^1.

Torero, F. Alfredo: (See footnote #7)

9. One illustrative error: Aymara does not have a base question 'why' (see Chap. VIII for interrogative organization): however, English speakers do and *why* (with the reply *because*) are a fundamental part of Protestant preaching. There is a suffix in Aymara /-layku/ which translates *why* - it is a complainer, more like *why on earth!*, a repentive suffix. Because of its extensive use in Evangelical translations, however, its use now marks one as Evangelical. In fact, Aymara speakers have told me that they do not know what it means, but one is supposed to slip it in every now and then. With the literacy materials some individuals educated by the Evangelicals have begun to write with the Yapita alphabet; many will throw in a few /-layku/'s apparently associated with writing. We have been able to remove the item from a text, thereby removing only the Evangelical stamp - no other semantic or grammatical element is touched.

The impact of Protestantism on the Aymara language would make a fascinating study in and of itself as would a study of 'patrón' Aymara by former landlords. The kind of dialect development seen in the expansion of Protestantism can occur a) because no Aymara would be so rude as to tell someone they are speaking wrongly (unless the situation is so set up by the investigator, and linguistic principles shared, such that allowing an error to escape would be rude - or worse, be seen by other Aymara as a reflection of one's own work) b) because the Spanish of many Aymara is weak; Andean Spanish reflects a lot of Aymara influence; the Aymara speaker projects his own categories onto the Spanish (a pan-human behavior - we are all lingocentric), and finally, c) because the missionary linguist was not sensitive enough to catch that the translation didn't mean what it would translate to be if said on the Iberian peninsula and his prestige encouraged use of the introduced form.

10. Wexler, Paul, ed. 1967. BEGINNING AYMARA: A COURSE FOR ENGLISH SPEAKERS. Peace Corps Training Programs. University of Washington.

11. For example, the first line of the first dialogue had *winustiyas*, a borrowing from Spanish 'buenos dias' translated as '*good afternoon.*' It took two years to see it - and then by a new student curious as to the meaning shift!

CHAPTER II

Overview of the Structure of the Aymara Language

1. Linguistic Postulates

Aymara is a suffixing language of the type often called "synthetic" or "polysynthetic." The grammatical resources open to the speakers of the language through suffixation are extensively exploited; the culture places a high value on the skilled use of the language's resources. Propriety of circumstances is elaborately defined; within the bounds of the situation and keeping in focus the respect and politeness parameters, speaking elegantly, speaking with wit and cleverness, speaking with illusion and word play, are highly appreciated. Conversely, speaking poorly is negatively sanctioned, often equated with ill-will, stupidity, or arrogance on the part of the speaker. "Speaking poorly" is often defined as using short sentences, using minimal morphological forms, and minimal syntactic forms, speaking abruptly and shortly and ignoring the postulates mentioned below. The reputation of the Aymara as a stoic silent person reflects in large part the application of the negative sanction to people who have not addressed one properly - that sanction is taciturnness.

Briefly outlined in this chapter are some of the linguistic postulates of the Aymara language: those ideas and concepts which run through the whole of the language, cross-cutting all levels, which are involved as well in the semantic structure and which are tied into the Aymara world-view.

1.1 Personal vs. Non-personal Knowledge

There is a proverb in Aymara - 'uñjasaw ⟨uñjt⟩ sañax, jan uñjasax janiw ⟨uñjt⟩ sañäkiti." 'Seeing, one can say "I have seen"; without seeing one must not say "I have seen."' - which accurately reflects the concept behind the first obligatory component of any conjugated verb. That concept also governs much of the use of the sentence suffixes. The Aymara are obligatorily aware of the source of their data; that which one knows because of information through one's own senses, primarily vision, takes one set of inflective forms and other comparable structures; that which one knows otherwise, because one was told, or infers, or guesses, or has read, takes other grammatical forms. This division of the world into the known vs. the unknown is so natural to the Aymara, and the lack thereof so unbelievable, that even the Aymara linguists on the project found it hard to believe the English speaking linguists when the lack of this category in English was explained; even personal experience with the English language left them baffled. The category is of such overriding importance that the Aymara will endow forms in a foreign language with the required properties.

This has been done so extensively to Spanish in Bolivia that some of the influence has apparently entered Andean Spanish. The adaptation is done sometimes by particles: 'quiza' 'seguro' 'siempre' - which don't mean quite what they do on the Iberian peninsula. In other cases particular inflections will be assigned to one category or the other, e.g., the future form is non-personal, the ir a construction is personal. In one case, a form in Spanish 'empty' for the Aymara, the pluperfect, has been assigned to non-personal knowledge, leaving the preterite for personal knowledge.[1] For Aymara learning English, the contrast is maintained, thus: "Edward Sapir was the teacher of B. L. Whorf" means that you knew both of them and you saw Sapir teach Whorf. If you didn't, the Aymara speaker will expect: "Edward Sapir had been the teacher of B. L. Whorf."

1.2 Four Person System; Salience of Second Person.

The four persons in Aymara are:
1) speaker included, addressee excluded
2) addressee included, speaker excluded
3) both excluded
4) both included

Basically, the system is that of two components: speaker and addressee, in two states: present and absent. See chart II.1.

The four persons are not number specific. They are reflected throughout the morphological system. Of particular interest as a linguistic postulate is the salience of the second person. As a component in the verbal morphological system, second person is over-marked, usually at the expense of third person; sometimes at the expense of first.[2] This inflectional overmarking is closely tied to the fact that all Aymara verbs are interactional, i.e., at least two persons are involved in each verb-person suffix. In general conversation the relationship of the second person to the matter at hand is virtually always marked, and deference and specific mention of the addressee is regularly included, frequently by the use of syntactic redundancies that, when used for third person, sound idiotic. Culturally, the Aymara are very aware of the second person, e.g., anticipating requests (and avoiding a command situation), always acknowledging the presence of another.[3]

1.3 Human vs. Non-human.

The overt mark of this category is found in the two pronoun classes - one exclusively human, the other exclusively non-human. However, as a covert category, the human/non-human distinction is very powerful. Noun syntax and suffix distribution reflects the system extensively (see Chapter VIII)· verb roots are human or non-human, with no morphological mark, e.g., achuña 'to produce' is non-human, thus ch'uqix achuwa 'potatoes produce'; to humanize the verb, one adds the personal causative (in contrast to the object causative - See Chapter VI) - *achuyña* 'to cause to produce' - *nayax ch'uq achuytwa* 'I cause potatoes to produce'. Culturally, great offense is taken if one is addressed with non-human terms, particularly the demonstratives. This ties in also with the previous postulate of salience of the second person.

1.4 Time/Space Perspective.

Time is seen as spatially located: the future is behind one, not yet visible; the present/past is ahead of one, before the eye, visible. Thus the primary tense division is future vs. non-future[4]; the present and past are not obligatorily split, e.g. *churtwa* 'I give/gave.' *churāwa* 'I will give'. Spatial metaphors are readily and regularly used for time, e.g. *q"ipürkam* 'until another day (see you later)'< *q"ipa* 'in back of' and *uru* 'day' and *-kama* 'until, up to'. The most common interrogative is *kawki* 'where'; time is requested with complex interrogatives (See Chapter VIII). Location is normally very carefully marked and includes place and direction; one suffix specifically unspecifies location.

1.5 Shape/Movement Categorization.

As the Aymara are specific about location, they are also explicit concerning movement, in verbs and nouns. The verbs of movement are correlated with ethnosemantic categories of nouns by shape; thus something cylindrical is not moved or placed with the same verb as something granular (*ayaña ≠ jach'iña*). Movement is present unless stopped by use of suffixes. Relational movement is regularly marked in verbs as well as nouns; a simple inflected verb will often leave an Aymara hearer hanging - information simply incomplete.[5]

2. Grammatical Levels.

2.1 Syntax.

The Aymara sentence is defined by the use of sentence suffixes (See Chapters XI and XII).

These sentence suffixes are independent of root classes and may occur on all classes. They may not be followed by any other suffixes. Every sentence must be marked by one or more sentence suffixes, which serve to define the sentence type. Some sentences are marked by a lack of a particular sentence suffix. A sentence need not contain a verb or a substantive, but it must have the proper sentence suffixes. Various combinations of sentence suffixes define the indicative sentence, the yes/no question sentence, the information question sentence, and also mark lists, alternates, surprise, sentence conjunction, and so on. Aymara has no copulative verb; connection or identity is indicated by sentence suffixes. Word order as such is not very important in Aymara relative to morphology, especially since the sentence is defined morphologically through sentence suffixes. The particular combinations of these suffixes are considered under syntax. Preferred word order is considered in Chapters VIII and XII. Word order is not rigid except in a few phrases, although there are certain usual or preferred orders.

Another class of suffixes which may be added to either substantive or verb stems or to particles are the independent suffixes. (See Chapter X). They occur between stems and inflection or sentence suffixes. They may act syntactically or may act only on the stem to which they are attached. They also interact in some specific ways with the sentence suffixes to mark particular types of sentences.

2.2 Morphology.

Aymara defines most grammatical relationships through morphology rather than through syntax (functors and word order). There are no functors or function words in Aymara. The basic morphological classes are roots and suffixes.

Roots, single morphemes occurring initially in the world, are of three classes: particles, substantives, and verb roots (See Chapters V, VIII, VI respectively). One higher level root class is that of interrogatives, cross-cutting the others. (See Chapter V.)

Verb roots are bound; noun and particle roots are free. Sub-classes are particularly important in substantive roots.

Suffix classes, in addition to the two mentioned under syntax, include: verbal suffixes - inflectional and derivational- noun suffixes, and theme-forming suffixes.

Verbal derivational suffixes (See Chapter VI) are part of the genius of Aymara; a good deal of the play, style, and skill of a speaker is evidenced in the use of this class.

Verbal inflectional suffixes (See Chapter VII) are required for a verb stem to function as a verb. They indicate person (paradigm of nine) and tense (including mode, aspect, data source, time, etc.).

Noun suffixes (See Chapter VIII) act upon the stem to which they are attached or they indicate the complement relationship of the noun stem to the verb (stem or inflection).

Theme-forming suffixes (see Chapter IX) make verbs of nouns and nouns of verbs. Their use is frequent and several theme alterations in a single word are not unusual.

2.3 Morphophonemics.

Morphophonemic alternation in Aymara is phonologically, morphologically and syntactically conditioned. (See Chapter IV.) Within words, morphological conditioning is more common than phonological conditioning. All morphemes in Aymara, with only one exception (see Chapter VI), end in vowels. These vowels are retained or dropped according to the surrounding morphological environment and/or syntactic requirements. Most morphologically conditioned alternation is through regressive influence, but there is some progressive influence. Each suffix in Aymara which shows regressive morphophonemic influence causes the final vowel of the preceding morpheme to be retained or dropped.

2.4 Phonology.

Aymara has 26 consonant phonemes and three vowel phonemes. Fifteen of the consonants are voiceless stops which occur in five contrasting positions of articulation: labial, dental, alveopalatal, velar, and post-velar; and in three manners: simple, aspirated, and glottalized.

The alveopalatal series is actually a series of affricates, which may be considered among the stops because it does not contrast with a stop series in the same position and because all Aymara stops, especially the post-velars, tend to be affricated in normal speech.

Other consonants in Aymara are three fricatives, three nasals, two laterals, two glides, and an alveolar flap.

Aymara has three vowels, in front, central, and back positions, whose allophones are conditioned by the surrounding consonant environment, both progressively and regressively. In general post-velar consonants lower and back the vowels, while the alveopalatal nasal and glides raise them; initial vowels are raised. Vowel length is phonemic in Aymara, and serves to distinguish grammatical inflections and derivations as well as roots. One of the verbalizing substantive suffixes consists of vowel length, as does the first person future inflection. Vowel length also occurs non-phonemically in Aymara as a paralinguistic feature.

Stress is non-phonemic in Aymara and occurs on the penultimate vowel. The Aymara word may be defined as a sequence of phonemes containing one stress. Although the final vowel in an Aymara word may be dropped or devoiced, its underlying presence may still be noted in stress placement. Stress still occurs on the penultimate vowel of the complete word. A final long vowel is never dropped or devoiced; it is the equivalent of two vowels for purposes of assigning stress.

There are no vowel clusters in Aymara. Consonants cluster medially, but not initially. As many as six consonants have occurred in a medial cluster.

Chart II- 1.

		Grammatical persons			
		1 p.	2 p.	3 p.	4 p.
Components	1 P.	+	−	−	+
	2 P.	−	+	−	+

II. 1 A.

Components		
1 P.	2 P.	
+	+	= 4th person
−	−	= 3rd person
= 1st person	= 2nd person	

II. 1 B.

	1 +	1 −
2 +	4 P	2 P
2 −	1 P	3 P

(Components outside box; grammatical persons inside)

II. 1 C.

FOOTNOTES

[1] This use more than any other has entered into Bolivian Spanish, especially in its surprisal functions.

[2] For componential analysis of related language see Hardman, M. J. COMPENDIO DE LA ESTRUCTURA DEL JAQARU: FONOLOGIA Y MORFOLOGIA, Capítulo 3, in press, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima.

For historical reconstruction see:

Hardman, M. J., "El Jaqaru, el Kawki, y el Aymara," Primer Congreso Interamericano de Linguística, Montevideo, Uruguay, January 1966.

Hardman, M. J., "Reconstruction of Jaqi Personal Verbal Suffixes," American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, November 1969, New Orleans.

[3] A term paper, Briggs, Lucy T., "Politeness in Aymara Language and Culture," March 1971, done at the University of Florida for a course in language and culture explores some of the ramifications of this postulate.

[4] In contrast to Indo-European languages where the contrast is past ≠ non-past - the present and future being visible and taking the same verb form (e.g., I'm going tomorrow./ I'm going right now.) vs. the non-visible past, a different form (e.g. I went.).

[5] Chapters VI and VIII deal with separate aspects of the space/shape/movement interrelation. Two term papers done for language and culture courses have looked into specific ethnosemantic categories related to this: Vasquez, Juana, and Miracle, Andrew W., "Jama, T"axa, and P"uru: Three Categories of Feces in Aymara," Fall Quarter, 1971, and Tate, Norman, "Ethno-Semantic Study of Aymara: 'To Carry'," Winter Quarter, 1971.

CHAPTER III

PHONOLOGY*

1. Introduction

The Aymara language is spoken by an estimated one million speakers throughout Bolivia and in southern Peru. It is a member of the Jaqi language family which today includes Jaqaru, a living language spoken in Peru by some two thousand persons, and Kawki, a now moribund language of the same area. These languages are thought to represent the remnants of a language family which appears to have had at one time a much more extensive distribution. This family's relationship to the Quechua languages of the same region has not been established. In any case, current research suggests that any genetic relationship between them is not a close one. Aymara has an undetermined number of dialects, but the variation among them is not great. Dialectal differences which have been noticed in the course of this study and which are pertinent to it will be mentioned. Basic dialect studies, however, remain to be done.

Previous research in the Aymara language has been quite limited. The earliest work was a grammar and dictionary by a Spanish priest, Ludovico Bertonio. His dictionary (Bertonio, 1612) is still the most complete one in existence. It was recently reissued by the Bolivian Ministerio de Asuntos Campesinos. The grammar, prepared about the same date, has not been available to this researcher. The phonology upon which Bertonio based his transcription shows the defects to be expected in the works of that period.

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Special thanks are due to Dr. M. J. Hardman-de-Bautista, chairman of my thesis committee. Her encouragement and instruction throughout the period of this research have been invaluable. I must also thank Dr. Norman N. Markel for serving on my committee and for the friendly interest he has had in this work.

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And finally, I would like to thank my kind friends, and especially my husband, Robert, for the support and understanding they have offered me while I have prepared this thesis.

Several grammars of Aymara have been prepared, but they have been largely along the traditional model and to varying degrees unsound in terms of the methods and knowledge of modern structural linguistics. The statements of Aymara phonology which are included in these works have consisted for the most part of a listing of letters which are defined in terms of Spanish equivalent sounds. Especially with regard to the Aymara vowel system, these concessions to Spanish phonology are particularly misleading and inadequate (Villamor, 1942; Ebbing, 1965). Some researchers, while using modern linguistic methods, have also failed because of unsatisfactory data (Ross, 1963; Peace Corps, 1967).[1] Certain term papers and other brief descriptions of Aymara phonology have been done by students at The Instituto Nacional de Estudios Lingüisticos (INEL) in Bolivia.

Works of research in related languages are even more scant. One significant description of Jaqaru (Hardman, 1966) includes a detailed statement of the phonology.

Publications dealing with Quechua phonology are more numerous, and many are quite good (Escobar, et al., 1967; Parker, 1965; Torero, 1964). However, Aymara differs in basic ways from Quechua to which it may not be related; so that these materials, while interesting, are of only limited value to the present study.

As a result of this scant and unsatisfactory information concerning all aspects of Aymara and particularly the phonology, the present study must be considered the first substantial outline of the sound system of this language according to a satisfactory model. Until such a description of the distributional characteristics of Aymara sounds is completed, other phonological research such as distinctive feature analysis and dialect studies cannot even be attempted.

The research for this description was done primarily with two native informants in residence at the University of Florida for the purpose of preparing bilingual teaching materials in Aymara and to provide data which will ultimately lead to a sound basic grammar of the language. The first informant, Mr. Juan de Dios Yapita Moya, age thirty-nine, is a native Aymara speaker. Mr. Yapita is multilingual, widely traveled and quite sophisticated linguistically. He learned Aymara from monolingual parents; he learned Spanish in school at about the age of eleven and speaks it fluently. He also speaks some English, though heavily accented, and knows some French as well.

The second informant used in this research was Ms. Juana Vasquez, age thirty-one, also a native speaker of Aymara. She learned both Spanish and Aymara at the same time. Her Spanish is heavily Andean. She was cared for as a child by a monolingual grandmother and by her mother, an Aymara/Spanish bilingual. Ms. Vasquez also knows Quechua as a result of travel throughout Bolivia, but her knowledge of this language is relatively slight. She is now learning English.

The two informants are from different dialect regions. Mr. Yapita is from Qumpi in Omasuyos province in the department of La Paz. Ms.

Vasquez is from La Paz and her family is from Qallamarka-Tiwanaku, La Paz department. Statements in this description concerning dialectal variation thus refer to these specific regions.

As a check on the data obtained from these informants, tapes recorded by Dr. M. J. Hardman-de-Bautista during field work in Bolivia were used. A portion of one tape dictated by Mr. Gervasio Moya, a monolingual Aymara speaker about sixty years of age, was used extensively. It was transcribed by the author and two other students with the help of Mr. Yapita. The final transcription was checked with Ms. Vasquez and is found in the appendices. Other tapes and transcriptions made by Dr. Hardman-de-Bautista and Mr. Yapita have also been taken into consideration.

The corpus for this description included some eighty or more hours of elicitation and analysis based on word lists, several short texts, and numerous conversations. It further includes a two minute taped narration, a vocabulary list of over one thousand items, and the teaching tapes[2] prepared to accompany the bilingual teaching materials being compiled during the course of this research. These tapes, which are in the form of original dialogues and exercise sets written and dictated by the native informants, provided controlled contexts for the comparison of certain sound clusters and also an additional check on the materials collected in other ways. Both Spanish and English have been used as contact languages throughout this research.

The principles of linguistic description which have been followed here are basically those outlined in Pike, 1947, and Nida, 1949. Additional methodological sources are listed in the bibliography.

	Bilabial	Dento-Alveolar	Pala-talized	Alveo-Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Occlusives							
Simple	p	t			k	q	
Aspirate	p"	t"			k"	q"	
Glottalized	p'	t'			k'	q'	
Affricates							
Simple				č			
Aspirate				č"			
Glottalized				č'			
Fricatives							
Flat						x	h
Sibilants		s	š	š			
Resonants							
Nasals vd.	m	n		ñ	ŋ		
Nasals vl.	M	N					
Laterals		l		ł			
Central	w			y			
Flap		r					
Trill		ř		ř^{s}			

Figure 1 Phonetic Chart: Contoids of Aymara

	Front	Central	Back
High	i i̥		u u̥
	I I̥		ʊ ʊ̥
Mid	e e̥	ə	o o̥
	ɛ ɛ̥		ɔ ɔ̥
Low		a ḁ	

Figure 2 Phonetic Chart: Vocoids of Aymara

Voiced and voiceless variants of the vocoids are included in the chart. Voicelessness is indicated by a sub-circle.

Length of vowels is treated as two occurrences of one phone and is thus not indicated on this chart.

p	t	č	k	q
p"	t"	č"	k"	q"
p'	t'	č'	k'	q'
	s		h	x
m	n	ñ		
	l	ł		
w	r	y		

i		u
	a	

: (length)

Figure 3 Phonemic Consonants and Vowels of Aymara

1 Phoneme Inventory and Evidence

In this section the phonemes of Aymara will be listed and the distribution of their allophones described. Evidence for their phonemic status will be presented by means of minimal pairs and analogous environment criteria. (See Figures 1, 2 and 3.)

1.1.0 Consonants

Within the Aymara sound system, twenty-six consonants may be distinguished. Consonants carry most of the functional load in Aymara, and it is their nature to be very clearly articulated.

1.1.1 Occlusives

Voiceless occlusives account for fifteen of the Aymara consonants. They are distinguished in five positions of articulation and in three series by manner: simple (unaspirated), aspirated, and glottalized. The only true affricate series, /č, č", č'/, is easily considered among the occlusives for two reasons. First, there exists no contrast with other occlusives at that point of articulation. Also, there is a general tendency for all the occlusives, and particularly the velars, to become affricated under normal utterance conditions. This affrication will not be discussed in the list of allophones.

The aspirated and glottalized occlusives are considered unit phonemes in this description. Neither aspiration nor glottalization occurs contrastively on any other phoneme. Anticipation of a glottalized consonant may cause glottalized onset or release of other occlusives in the immediate environment, but glottalization cannot be assigned as a separate phoneme and still maintain the considerable symmetry of this description. The glottalization of the occlusive is usually simultaneous or post-glottalization. Although a voiceless aspirate occurs with phonemic status within the system, it is in contrast with the aspirated occlusives. (See 1.1.2.) Aspiration does not occur contrastively with any other consonants or alone.

The voiceless occlusives and the evidence for their contrast are as follows:

/p/	[p]	voiceless bilabial occlusive
/p"/	[p"]	aspirated voiceless bilabial occlusive
/p'/	[p']	glottalized voiceless bilabial occlusive

[p̲isi]	'less; short'
[p̲"isi]	'cat'
[hup̲a]	'he, she, they'
[hup̲"a]	'quinoa'
[lap̲aka]	'season before much rain, (November)'
[lap̲'a]	'louse'

[p̲usi]	'four'
[p̲"usu]	'small indentation left in the skin as the result of a wound'
[p̲'usu]	'swelling'

/t/	[t]	voiceless dento-alveolar occlusive
/t"/	[t"]	aspirated voiceless dento-alveolar occlusive
/t'/	[t']	glottalized voiceless dento-alveolar occlusive

[t̲ant̲a]	'gathering or union of objects, bushy tail'
[t̲"ant̲"a]	'old' (said of objects)
[t̲'ant̲'a]	'bread'

/č/	[č]	voiceless alveo-palatal affricate
/č"/	[č"]	aspirated voiceless alveo-palatal affricate
/č'/	[č']	glottalized voiceless alveo-palatal affricate

[huč̲a]	'blame'
[huč̲"a]	'soup made of quinoa'
[č̲uxu]	'skinny' (said mostly of animals)
[č̲"uxu]	'urine'

[č̲ača]	'man'
[č̲'ač̲'a]	'penetrating'

[č̲"ułu]	'root of a type of water reed'
[č̲'ułu]	'type of hat worn in the Andes'

/k/	[k]	voiceless velar occlusive
/k"/	[k"]	aspirated voiceless velar occlusive
/k'/	[k']	glottalized voiceless velar occlusive

[k̲aya]	'dried oca'
[k̲"aya]	'there'

[k̲usa]	'okay; fine'
[k̲"usu]	'thick'
[k̲'usa]	'drink made of quinoa, corn, etc.'

/q/	[q]	voiceless post-velar occlusive
/q"/	[q"]	aspirated voiceless post-velar occlusive
/q'/	[q']	glottalized voiceless post-velar occlusive

[laq̲a]	'hurry'
[laq̲'a]	'dust'

[q̲aq̲a]	'discolored, colorless'

[q̲"aq̲"aña]	'to twist'
[q̲aq̲usiña]	'to rub oneself'
[q̲'aq̲'usiña]	'to lean informally against something, i.e., a wall'

The velar and post-velar occlusive series contrast in the following examples.

[k̲uk̲a]	'cocoa'
[q̲uq̲a]	'tree'
[k̲"ak̲"aña]	'to stutter'
[q̲"aq̲"aña]	'to twist'
[hiwk̲'i]	'toasting pan'
[hiwq̲'i]	'smoke'

1.1.2 Fricatives

The fricative series in Aymara consists of three phonemes: /s/, /x/, and /h/.

The sibilant fricative /s/ is similar to the Spanish phoneme /s/. It is, however, usually accompanied by considerable friction and is slightly apical. It has the following allophones:

[š]	voiceless apical alveo-palatal fricative, occurring before the palatal series and following the /č/ series. This latter influence is present even across word boundaries as in [kawč̲ š̲arxe]

'where's he gone to?'

[š] voiceless palatal fricative, occurring in environment of /y/ and /ñ/ as in [ñuñšuña] 'to complete feeding at breast'

[s] voiceless dento-alveolar fricative in all other positions

The phonetically suspicious pair of back fricatives [x], voiceless uvular fricative, and [h], voiceless glottal fricative, exists in Aymara, and each member may be shown to have phonemic status.

[cahitu] 'pain in teeth from drinking something too hot or too cold'

[caxi] 'hollow stem'

Considerable variation seems to exist with regard to the amount of friction accompanying these phonemes. It may also be due in some degree to dialect variation. In the taped speech of Mr. Gervasio Moya, the /h/ is quite forcefully articulated, and the /x/, especially after /k/, reduces to little more than aspiration. Following the palatals, /x/ reduces considerably in the speech of all informants perhaps because of anticipatory fronting. Nevertheless, these two sounds occur in constant environment sentences and contrast with each other and with the aspirated occlusives. For example, the following phrases have been attested.

[akh apa:ta] 'this much you will take' (accompanied by a gesture)

[akx apa:taw] 'you will take this (one)' [ak"ar apanim] 'bring it here'

1.1.3 Nasals

Three nasal phonemes are distinguished in Aymara.

/m/ [m] voiced bilabial nasal

/n/ has the following allophones:

[ŋ] voiced velar nasal, occurring as the result of pre-velarization before the /q/ series and occasionally before the /k/ series. It may also occur in word-final position.

[n] voiced dental nasal, occurring in all other positions

/ñ/ [ñ] voiced alveo-palatal nasal. It will pre-palatalize /s/ as in [ñuñšuña] 'to complete feeding at the breast'

[maya]	'one'
[naya]	'I, we' (exclusive)
[ña]	'already'

Both /m/ and /n/ have been found to devoice occasionally between two voiceless sounds, [M] and [N].

1.1.4 Resonants

Several resonant sounds are distinguished phonemically in Aymara.

1.1.41 Laterals

Two voiced laterals are in phonemic opposition in Aymara. They contrast with each other and with the phonetically similar /y/.

/l/	[l]	voiced dento-alveolar lateral
/ł/	[ł]	voiced alveo-palatal lateral

[qal̲a]	'stone'
[qał̲aña]	'knitting needle'
[qałaña]	'to begin'
[l̲apaka]	'season before rain, (November)'
[ł̲apa]	'smooth (of geography)'
[y̲apu]	'field'

1.1.42 Flap

One phonemic flap exists in Aymara, a single voiced flap symbolized /r/. It has the following allophones:

[ř]	voiced trilled vibrant found only in Spanish borrowings
[ř^{s}]	voiced sibilant trill found in the environment of /s/ and initial in Spanish borrowings
[r]	voiced single flap, in all other positions

These allophones may devoice in environments of voiceless sounds. The phoneme /r/ contrasts with the phonetically similar /l/.

[qal̲a]	'stone'

[qara]	'type of hat worn in *kullava* dance'

1.1.43 Central resonants

Two non-syllabic vocoids occur as consonants in Aymara. These are /w/, a voiced labial resonant, and /y/, a voiced alveo-palatal resonant. They contrast with the phonetically similar vowels /u/ and /w/.

[řiwʊčə]	'Gregory'
[suwačaña]	'to soften *oca* in the sun'
[yatiyɪ]	'he informed someone'

When in medial position between two /a/ vowels, in word-final position, /y/ will reduce to vowel length before a consonant in the next word. For example, /maya/ 'one' becomes /ma:/ in phrases, although not in citation forms. In medial position before /r/ or /ñ/, /y/ will reduce without vowel lengthening as in /apawarapita/ 'carry it away for me' where the verb suffix /-waya/ 'action away from the speaker' has become /-wa-/. This will never occur, however, with the causative suffix /-ya/. It appears, therefore, that only /-waya/ has this variant. An interesting case is offered by /naya/ 'I, we (exclusive)' which becomes /na-/ before the noun suffix /-naka/ 'emphatic plural.' There is no vowel lengthening in this case. This reduction of /naya/ is obligatory; but, when occurring with one other noun suffix /-ru/ 'toward,' both /nar/ and nayar/ have been attested as optional usage.

1.2.0 Vowels

The Aymara vowel system has been a major area of confusion in the previous descriptions of this language. Since most persons interested in describing Aymara have had knowledge of Spanish, the tendency has been to describe the Aymara system as somehow like the Spanish. This is a distortion of the system and will not account for the phonetic facts.

1.2.01 Vowel allophones

Only three vowel phonemes exist in Aymara: /i/, a front, unrounded vowel; /a/, a central, unrounded vowel; and /u/, a back, rounded vowel. However, the range of variants of each of these is very great. The variants occur on a sliding scale; that is, the same word may be heard at different times with different allophones. The Aymara vowels must therefore be considered in terms of range and gradation and not in terms of specific allophones whose distribution can be strictly stated. For example, [i], [I], [e], and [ɛ] all occur as variants of /i/. For /u/, all of the following have been attested: [u], [ʊ], [ɔ] and [o]. /a/ has fewer apparent variants than the other vowel phonemes, but its actual phonetic representation will vary by being raised or lowered according to the same feature of gradation.

The complete range of variation for these phonemes cannot as yet be completely described. Certain general tendencies regarding specific positions and the usual variant to be found in them can be delimited. Using an unusual variant in one of these positions will elicit a correction response from the informant if he is specifically asked for the most native pronunciation. However, misuse does not confuse an informant or produce unintelligible sequences or a change in meaning.

For these reasons, the five-vowel system postulated for Aymara by several authors (Ross, 1963; Villamor, 1942) is misleading and inadequate. It will not account for the variation occurring in most words, and it does not explain why the informant is able to understand a word even if it is presented to him with four or five phonetically different varieties of the vowel phoneme. In actual fact, the five cardinal positions, i, e, a, o, and u, postulated by these systems seldom occur. Rather something in between them will be more common. (One previous author [Ebbing, 1965, p. 5f] has mentioned this variation around the cardinal positions.)

The statement of the exact distribution of all the vowel allophones in Aymara will only be possible after a more detailed study has been made of this aspect of the phonology. At this point, however, much of the variation appears to be free; that is, unconditioned by the elements in the phonetic environment. Perhaps further study could associate this variation with matters of style or emotional state of the speaker. A close examination of the phonetic transcription in the appendix will reveal the great extent of such variation.

The general guidelines for the choice of allophonic variation are listed below in approximate order of power. In no case is it possible to predict absolutely an exact phonetic realization. Only a general tendency to be raised or lowered may be noted. All the influences mentioned are exerted both progressively and regressively, but the progressive influence is the stronger.

1. Vowels preceding or following the /q/ series or /x/ will become considerably more open and lower. It is this nearly universal lowering of the vowels which may have caused some investigators to describe a five-vowel system for Aymara. Examples of this phenomenon are [ɔqɛ] 'grey' or [sarxe] 'he went.' Other vowels may be lowered to the same degree, though not usually so far. Meaning is not lost when a word with one of the /q/ series or /x/ is pronounced with a somewhat higher variant than the one normally produced by the native. This is perhaps the most powerful influence on the vowels and is seldom overridden.

2. All vowels are normally raised in the environment of /ñ/ and /y/.

[yatiyi]	'he informed someone'
[hikisiña]	'to meet'

This influence may partially override the influence of the velars as in [ñɪq'e].

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3. In positions of no stress, /a/ has been noted as very lax, almost approaching a schwa-type vowel. However, this has not been found to be common.

4. Stress will occasionally lower the vowel.

5. Vowels in initial position in the word will be raised.

One major characteristic of the Aymara vowel is the ease with which it can be dropped or devoiced. The dropping of vowels within words or on stems is a principle morphophonemic device which is most appropriately described as a feature of Aymara morphology. Final vowels of words which are medial in a sentence will be dropped entirely, except in certain phrase structures such as modifier plus noun where the modifier retains its vowel. Compare, for example, /hupax wali suma haqiw/ 'he is a very good person,' and /wal parli/ 'he speaks well.' Sentence-final vowels are commonly dropped entirely after /-y/, /-w/ or /-m/ as in /sarakimay/ 'so long'; /p'iqiw usut siw/ 'he says "my head hurts"' and /awtut apa:m/ 'I'll take you by car.' Both /-ya/ and /-wa/ are extremely common sentence final suffixes so that this case of vowel dropping is by no means rare.

Regularly, however, sentence-final vowels are devoiced after voiceless consonants. Word-final vowels which are retained in sentence-medial position because of morphophonemic reasons will also devoice if occurring between two voiceless consonants. Abundant examples of sentence-final devoicing can be found in the text in Appendix A.

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1.2.1 Vowel Length

Length of vowels in Aymara is phonemic. The problems involved with a statement of the distribution of vowel length are quite complex. There appear to be several types of long vowels.

1.2.11 Simple phonemic length

There is simple phonemic length on vowels which can be attested in roots in pairs such as /čaka/ 'bridge' and /ča:ka/ 'dry quinoa stem.' Length occurring in roots is rare.

1.2.12 Grammatical length

Some Aymara morphemes consist of vowel length only. The verbalizer of existence and the inflection of first person future are examples. Compare the following: /sara/ 'gait' and /sara:/ 'I, we (exclusive) will go.'

Other suffixes, especially inflections of the future paradigm, begin with vowel length which lengthens the stem vowel. For example, /-:ta/ 'second person future' contrasts with a suffix /-ta/ 'adjectival nominalizer' in the following: /sara:ta/ 'you will go' and /sarata/ 'gone.'

1.2.13 /aya/ reduction

Vowel length results from reduction of the sequence /-aya/ in three morphemes when they are followed in phrases by consonant-initial forms. The morphemes are /maya/ 'one,' /paya/ 'two' and

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/k"aya/ 'there, that.' They will reduce in phrases such as /ma: wawa/ 'one child,' /pa: pataka/ 'two hundred' and /k"a: č'uxña uta/ 'that green house.' Suffixes, however, will require the long form: /mayampi/ 'once more;' /k"aysaru/ 'to that side.' The special case of reduction of /-aya/ in /naya/ is discussed in Section 1.1.43.

Other /aya/ sequences which do not reduce are morphologically conditioned.

A final independent suffix which takes the shape /-ya/ and marks sentences as in some way emotional, pleading, or polite also reduces to vowel length following any vowel. However, it very frequently does not so reduce; and the conditions governing this alteration have not been completely analyzed.

1.2.14 Paralinguistic length

Lengthening of a vowel in any syllable may occur as a result of paralinguistic phenomena which appear to accompany the expression of surprise, emphasis, or pleading.

Since vowel length is so closely tied to morphological and morphophonemic considerations, advancement in grammatical analysis will go a long way in solving the problems of vowel length analysis and resolving the confusion and instability which has appeared to exist with regard to this aspect of Aymara phonology.

It is certain that long vowels actually constitute two syllables. This is most clearly shown by the placement of stress in words with final long vowels.[3] It would appear that stress shifts from penultimate to ultimate vowel in these cases, for example, in forms with first person future inflection transcribed by some as [čurá] 'I, we (exclusive) will give something.' However, it becomes clear with further suffixation that the actual inflection consists of vowel length /čura:xay/ 'I, we (exclusive) will give it to him.' The apparent stress shift then is only the placement of stress on the penultimate of the two identical vowels just as it would be so placed if the vowels were separated by one or more consonants. (See 2.3.) Stress then tends to reduce the vowel length.

While the vowel length phenomenon has seemed to be unstable, it now appears that continued grammatical analysis will provide a clear picture of the process (Hardman-d.-Bautista, forthcoming, NDEA sponsored Aymara Language Project).

1.3.0 Distributional Limitations

Certain limitations govern the occurrence of Aymara phonemes. Some of these will be discussed in this section and others, which involve the types of clustering which can occur, will be discussed in Section 2.4.

1.3.1 Restrictions of Occurrence

1.3.11 Vowel limitations

The most significant limitation of the occurrence of Aymara vowels is that no two different vowels may occur in succession.

Vowels which are lengthened and are considered two occurrences of the same vowel constitute the only permissible vowel cluster. There are no diphthongs.

Concurrence of vowels with /y/ or /w/ is transcribed in that fashion and not, as some authors have done, as cases of [iu], for example. Since the nature of the phoneme is clearly consonantal when given between vowels, this fact is maintained in the transcription. (See 1.1.43.)

Citation forms of all Aymara words will be given with a final vowel, except occasionally in the case of very common phrases or forms such as /haniw/ 'no.' In the case of consonant-final borrowings, a vowel will be added. (See 1.3.2.)

1.3.12 Consonant limitations

Two Aymara phonemes have not been found to occur initially in native words. These are /x/ and /r/. In Spanish borrowings, /r/ has been attested initially as in /rusintita/, a proper name. In these cases, the /r/ is slightly sibilant.

Neither lateral phoneme is attested in suffixes in this corpus; however, it is said that, in some dialect region, a suffix /-ła/ occurs meaning 'only.'

1.3.2 Frequencies

A count of the relative frequencies of occurrence of Aymara phonemes in the two minute taped text was made. Several interesting facts were revealed. /a/ is far and away the most common phoneme, occurring as much as four times as often as the next most frequent phoneme, /i/. /a/ is so very common that a good case could be made for a description of the vowel system which only accounted for two distinctive vowels, /i/ and /u/, and an "empty" phoneme, /a/, which would occur whenever the others did not. Almost every Aymara word ends in a vowel,[4] but when a vowel must be added, as, for example, in Spanish consonant-final borrowings, the vowel which is added is invariably /a/. For example, Spanish [lápis] will become /lapisa/ both in citation forms and when suffixed if suffix requires preceding vowel. (See 3.1.)

Long vowels are comparatively uncommon in this sample.

Other findings concerning relative frequencies involve consonants. The most frequent consonant is /t/ and the least frequent are the glottalized consonants /p'/, /q'/, /k'/, and /č'/. /t'/ occurred much more frequently than the other glottalized phonemes. Aspirated consonants /č"/, /p"/, /t"/, and /q"/ were only slightly more frequent than their glottalized counterparts. However, infrequent as many of these consonants seem, every Aymara phoneme occurs at least once in this sample. (A complete listing of frequencies is found in Appendix C.)

2 The Phonological Word

2.1 Canonical Shapes

2.11 Roots

The majority of Aymara roots have the canonical form CVCV(CV). A large number take the shape CVCCV, and most of the remaining roots have the canonical form VC(C)V. Roots which have longer forms or which have unusual combinations of consonants and vowels are quite rare and may be frozen compounds. Such a form is /p'asanqała/ 'pop-corn; toasted corn' which is highly unusual in length and cannot be further analyzed. Many of these unusual forms are toponyms and may readily be explained as compound formations. For example, /qalamaya/ from /qala/ 'stone' and /amaya/ 'spirit.'

There appears to be a subclass of noun roots of the shape CVCCV which have the form $C_1V_1C_2C_1V_1$, which are distinguished by the fact that many of them have special descriptive meanings. Some of them are, however, quite common, as is /t'ant'a/ 'bread.' This shape seems to be a productive frame, and a number of words have been collected which have it.[5] It is suspected that this may represent a holdover from the period in which vowel harmony was a productive process in the Jaqi language group (Hardman-de-Bautista, personal communication). Further study may be able to determine whether this canonical form represents a still productive shape, but there seems no doubt that at one time it was highly productive.

2.12 Suffixes

Aymara suffixes are overwhelmingly CV in shape. Some CVCV suffixes do occur, particularly among the subclass of independent suffixes which occur non-finally. Rarely suffixes of the shape CCV or VCV occur, as, for example, /-mpi/ 'conjoiner' and /-iri/ 'agentive nominalizer.'

2.2 The Syllable

Defining the Aymara syllable is a complex problem because of the high frequency of extensive consonant clustering. Whenever a vowel occurs, there is, of course, a syllabic peak. However, when as many as six consonants can occur in succession without an intervening vowel, the definition of syllabicity becomes extremely difficult. Extensive acoustic studies with mechanical devices may solve to some degree the confusion surrounding the exact configuration of the syllable in Aymara. However, from a distributional and articulatory point-of-view, the Aymarà syllable may be best defined as any CV, VC, V, or C. Additional evidence for considering a C as a syllable is offered by the occurrence of the non-phonemic transitional vowel (see 2.43) which results from the complete release of all consonants (except in special cases, see 2.42.) The articulation of large clusters of consonants which in part leads to this conclusion may be illustrated by the following: /haniw hiskt'ksmati/ 'I didn't ask you.'

An initial syllable must be either CV or V. Following the initial syllable, no restrictions on occurrence of syllables exist until the final syllable. The final syllable may be V only if it is identical with the V of the penultimate syllable. If the final syllable is CV, it may reduce to C. (See 2.31.)

2.3 Stress

Stress in Aymara occurs non-phonemically on the penultimate vowel. There is a slight rise in pitch level in the stressed vowel. Stress will always occur on the penultimate vowel even when the final vowel has been dropped for morphophonemic reasons. That is, in a phrase such as /hupáx yapúr saríwa/ 'He went to the field,' where the stress falls on the indicated syllables, the actual final vowels in two of the words are not pronounced. The sentence actually consists of the words /hupaxa/ and /yapuru/. This fact suggests that the native speaker is always aware of the presence of the unspoken vowel.

One exception to this occurs with the imperative, second-to-third person for which the inflection is /-m/ and with some less common inflected forms in the contrary-to-fact paradigms. In these forms stress occurs on the penultimate vowel without regard for the possible former existence of a final vowel.[6]

Because stress is non-phonemic and occurs only in specified position, it can shift from vowel to vowel with the lengthening of the word through suffixation. For example, a given citation form may be a word like [kuɫáka] 'sister' where the stress is on the first /a/. By the addition of the suffix /-xa/ 'my,' a form is produced [kuɫakáxa] with the stress on the second /a/. Further suffixation may result in [kuɫakaxámpi] 'and or with my sister' and in this form, predictably, the stress occurs on the last /a/.

2.31 Definition of the Word

At this point, having established the constant placement of stress, the Aymara word may be defined. A word is a sequency of phonemes containing one main stress on its penultimate vowel (See 2.2.)

2.4 Consonant Clusters

Clustering of consonants in Aymara is very common. The types of consonant clusters which may be formed may be clearly divided into two classes. First, there are those clusters which occur medially in root. These may be referred to as root clusters. The other class of consonant clusters occurs as the result of the extensive morphophonemic vowel dropping which is the result of suffixation. These clusters shall be known as morphophonemic clusters.

2.41 Root Clusters

There are no initial consonant clusters in Aymara. Root clusters in Aymara are always composed of two consonants with one exception, /amsta/ 'further up the hill.' It is suspected that this is a result of some earlier suffixation which is now frozen.

The most striking characteristic of these medial clusters is that they are overwhelmingly composed of a continuent and an occlusive in that order. This is in direct contrast with the conditions of morphophonemic clusters. (See 2.42.) Only one example has been discovered in this data in which both consonants are stops, /q"ač q"a/ 'rough.' Of the possible combinations of occlusives and continuents, the most common are resonant-occlusive combinations. /r/ is the most frequent resonant occurring in combinations in this data. The following clusters composed of /r/ plus some occlusive are attested in this corpus: /rp/, /rp"/, /rč/, /rk/, /rk"/, /rq/, /rq"/, and /rq'/.

The laterals are next in ease of combinability being found in the following clusters: /lt'/, /ɨp/, /ɨp'/, /ɨt/, /ɨč/, /ɨq/, and /ɨq'/. /w/ occurs in the following combinations: /wt/, /wk/, /wk'/, /wq/, and /wq'/. /y/ occurs in these combinations: /yp"/, /yp'/, /yč/, /yk/, and /yq/.

The next most frequent phoneme type which occurs in medial clusters with occlusives is the nasal series. There are some very significant trends discoverable in the examination of the nasal plus occlusive clusters. The nasal occurs in first position in every case in this sample. /m/ occurs only before sounds of the /p/ series: /mp/, /mp"/, and /mp'/. This evidently reveals the remnants of some period in which assimilation to the following consonant was a productive process in Aymara cluster production.

The process did not extend, however, to establish the velar nasal as a separate phoneme, although it too assimilates as an allophonic variation of /n/. /n/ occurs with all the remaining occlusives. Nasal and non-nasal resonant plus occlusive clusters form the greatest number of consonant clusters to be found in Aymara roots. While fricatives enter into some combinations, they do not seem to do so with the same freedom or frequency as other types of sounds. /s/ has been attested before /p/, /t"/, /k/, /k"/, /k'/, /q/, /q'/. /h/ and /x/ are found in this sample occurring only before consonants of the /t/ series. /h/ follows /č/ in one case, but there is other evidence that this may be an example of a morphological cluster which has now frozen: /ačhaña/ 'to bite.'

The second class of medial root clusters is composed of two continuents. The following have been attested: /rl/,[7] /rm/, /lm/, /łw/, /ms/, /wr/, /wm/, /ws/, /sł/, /hs/, /hm/, /hw/, /hr/, /xs/, /xł/, /xñ/, /xr/, /yr/, /ym/, /yn/, /yñ/, and /yw/.

This is certainly not intended to be a complete inventory of the Aymara consonant clusters occurring within roots. However, it does illustrate some significant trends which may be worthy of further study. This information concerning Aymara clusters may, for example, be very profitably examined in the light of comparative data from related languages (Hardman, 1966). Study of consonant clustering may also provide information which will help solve certain problems which will be mentioned later in this description such as the problem of syllabification and the process of modification in borrowed words. (See 2.2 and 3.)

2.42 Morphological Clusters

In direct contrast to the root clusters which are rarely combinations of occlusives and never more than two consonants in length, the morphological clusters generally involve several occlusive phonemes and may range in length from two to six consonants, the longer ones always occurring in verbs. The most frequent number according to a count made of the short text found in the appendix are two consonants in a cluster. However, this is very likely misleading because the text is a narration and the majority of verb forms included there are third person to third person. These inflections are usually short, involving few consonants, while the inflections for other persons may have two or three consonants in the inflection itself. Clusters of four or five consonants have not been found to be uncommon.

The two-consonant morphophonemic clusters show a higher occurrence of two occlusives in cluster. The following have been attested: /pt/, /pt"/, /pt'/, /čt/, /kč/, /qt/, /q"t/, /q"t'/, /qt'/, /qč'/, and /qk/. Because of its high frequency as a verbal suffix and because its morphophonemics require vowel dropping before it, /x/ will occur in second position following nearly every other consonant.

Three-consonant clusters are very common. In some cases, these may be three occlusives as in /qkt/ and /pkt/. However, there is most commonly at least one continuent in the cluster. Some of the attested clusters are /thk/, /ksm/, /wq"r/, /tht/, /skt/, /ñht/, /skt'/, /wq"s/, /rkt/, /ht't/, /rkt/, /rsx/, /nxt/, /rmh/, /tst/,

/rsn/, /rpt/, /ɬsñ/, /ɬtñ/, /ɬsk/, /sts/, /rqt'/, /qtt/, /rtt/, /htt/, /ptt/, /ytt/, /qxx/, /lhk/, /kt'k/, /ñt'k"/, /yp't"/, /wkč'/, and /ykč'/.

Frequently, in these three-consonant clusters, double consonants will occur as in /qtt/ in /t"aqtti/ part of a phrase meaning 'did I look for it?' The doubling of consonants in Aymara does not require separate articulation of both consonants. The usual method by which these are articulated is that the first is unreleased if it is a stop (the doubling of consonants is most common with occlusives). When the consonants involved are continuents of some sort as in /ss/ or /xx/ the result is a "long" consonant articulation with no pause or release between the first and the second.

Four-consonant clusters which have been attested in this sample are /ht'kt/, /st'kt/, and /yt'kt/. This is not a complete listing since the negative marker sequence in the first person aorist is /kt/ and may follow any number of clusters. Every attested case of a four-consonant cluster has included at least one continuent.

Two five-consonant clusters /skt'tt/ and /skt'kt/ and one six-consonant cluster /skt'ksm/ have been noted. This many consonants in sequence, however, is less common than the other types of clusters. An example of the type of word construction in which it occurs is /haniw hiskt'ksmati/ 'I didn't ask you?'

This brief survey of clustering phenomena in Aymara allows the following general statements:

1. There are no initial consonant clusters in native Aymara words.

2. Two types of clusters may be distinguished, root clusters with no more than two consonants in a cluster and morphophonemic clusters which may contain up to six consonants. These clusters, while differing primarily in length, also differ in the kinds of consonants which compose them.

3. The study of consonant clustering has implications for other aspects of the phonology, such as comparative studies, syllabification and trends in borrowing. The present study is still incomplete.

2.43 Transitional Vowel Phenomena

In consonant clusters in Aymara which involve /w/ as the second element after a resonant and occasionally /t/, a nonphonemic schwa-like vowel may be heard to intrude in the transition from one consonant to the other. This is especially common after /n/. This phenomenon is a result of the full and separate onset and release of each consonant. This is further evidence for the syllabic nature of consonants. (See 2.2.) Examples of this sort of transitional vowel may be heard in the following items: /qarwa/ 'llama'; /čaɬwa/ 'fish'; /sartanwa/ 'we (inclusive) went'; and /sartwa/ 'I, we (exclusive) go' may be produced as [qárᵊwa], [čáɬəwa], [sartánəwa], and [sártəwa].

2.5 Metathesis

Some words in Aymara have two alternate forms which are not in every case dialectally selected for. These alternate pronunciations involve the process of metathesis. The two most common examples of this sort of variation are the words /č'ułu/ 'hat' and /čałwa/ 'fish' which may also be pronounced as /łuč'u/ and /čawła/. Obviously, it may be seen from these examples that the sounds usually involved in this process are resonants. Resonants are always part of the sequence which undergo this variation.

3 Spanish Borrowings

Because of the very close contact over four hundred years between the Spanish-speaking population and the Aymara, extensive borrowing of Spanish terms into Aymara has been common since the time of the conquest. Spanish words borrowed many centuries ago have been completely Aymarized. In many cases these have supplanted completely the native word for the referent and in other cases they are simply cases of name borrowed with the cultural item. For example, /waka/ is now a completely native word meaning 'cow' which was obviously borrowed very early along with the object itself. Study of these old borrowings can in many cases reveal the time of borrowing since evidence from knowledge of Spanish sound shifts, etc. will date them with great reliability. For example, the word for 'sheep,' /iwisa/, was doubtless borrowed before the Spanish sibilant shift of the fifteenth century. It has recently been reborrowed as /uwiha/.

Because of the extensive borrowing present even in the speech of monolinguals, the study of the types of adaptations which are occasioned by the process of fitting the Spanish sounds into the Aymara system can be very revealing.

3.1 Canonical Form Adaptations

The basic adaptation of canonical shapes by the introduction of Spanish borrowings is the partial acceptance of initial consonant clusters. This is, however, most common in the speech of bilinguals. In the speech of monolinguals, the consonants metathesize. For example, trueque 'exchange' becomes /truki/ in the speech of bilinguals but /turki/ in the speech of monolinguals.

Spanish words which are consonant-final will always take a final vowel in Aymara and this vowel is nearly universally /a/. In the borrowing of personal names and other forms in which the addition of the final /a/ would obscure the gender obvious in the Spanish name, other adaptations are made. For example, when the name such as Juan is borrowed into Aymara and the addition of the final /a/ would create a female personal name, this confusion is resolved by borrowing Juan as /huwanti/. This pecularity of additional suffixation on personal names is extremely common. Compare, for example, Pedro /piruti/.

3.2 Phonological Adaptations

An entire study could be made of the patterns by which Spanish loan words are incorporated into the Aymara sound system. In this research a few general tendencies have been noted which can predict the majority of resultant assimilated Aymara forms from the Spanish word. The primary use in the research of bilingual informants has to some degree prohibited an extensive study of this matter. In general, however, the following seem to be true.

1. [f] → /p"/ as in feria → /p"irya/ 'market'

2. [b], [ƀ], and [ǥ], [g] → /w/ Before -*ia*, this sequence gives rise to the relatively uncommon Aymara cluster /wy/ as in the given name *Olivia* → /uliwya/.

3. Voiced consonant following a nasal → corresponding voiceless consonant in Aymara *tienda* → /tinta/ 'store.'

4. [ř] → /r/ Occasionally [ř] will be heard in the speech of bilinguals, often with some degree of sibilation. *arroba* → [ar^{s}uwa] 'unit of measure.'

5. Initial [d] or [đ] will become /t/ as in *días* → /tiyas/. In medial position, these Spanish sounds become /r/ as in *estados* → /istarusa/.

6. Clusters with voiced consonants will tend to reduce, as in *cambio* → /kamyu/.

7. Spanish vowels [i] and [e] → /i/ and [o] and [u] → /u/. The actual Spanish pronunciation may be maintained as the vowel variant of the Aymara vowel in that position. This depends on the consonants involved in the immediate environment. (See 1.2.0.) And an examination of the text by a monolingual which is included in the appendix will reveal that even this general statement is not always the case: [tirmina-] from *termina-*. Where a lower [ɛ] sound would be expected, a relatively high variant occurs.

8. Spanish stress is heard as two syllables and borrowings often take additional syllables in Aymara. Often this results in the intrusion of semi-vocalic /w/ or /y/ as in María → /mariya/. Diphthongs will reduce to the Aymara version of the primary vowel if a long vowel would result otherwise (except in final position, see below.) For example, tienda becomes /tiynta/ → /tinta/ 'store.' In other cases, the diphthong will become semi-vowel plus vowel as in Manuel → /manwilu/ or feria → /p"irya/ 'market.'

9. Stress is always shifted to the penultimate syllable regardless of where it may be found in the Spanish. For example, Canadá → Aymara /kana[illegible]a/. In cases where Spanish stress is on the final syllable, it is heard as two syllables and produced as such in Aymara. José → /husiya/.

4 Dialect Variation

Though this research has not been directly concerned with the variation of dialects in Aymara, a number of interesting differences have been noted and will be mentioned here since no adequate dialect studies have yet been done and these details need to be mentioned.

In all cases, dialect variants involve resonants. This is another piece of evidence to suggest that the resonant series in Aymara is to some degree unstable. (See 2.5.) Only comparative data will be able perhaps to clear away some of the uncertainty here.

Examples of words which are in variation will be listed.

Qumpi Variant	Tiwanaku Variant	
masuru	wasuru	'yesterday'
irama	irana	'slope'
k'isimiri	k'isirmirta	'ant'
łink'i	ñink'i	'type of clay'
hiwq'i	hiq'i	'smoke'
-taña	-ta:na, -tana, -tayna	'remote past'

No clear phonological correspondences emerge from the data collected for this research. Comparative data with related languages will no doubt shed some light on the matter of dialectal variation as will concentrated studies in Aymara dialectology alone.

5 Problems for Further Research

Since the purpose of this research is to provide the initial statement of the basic distribution patterns of the sounds of Aymara, several aspects of the phonology are beyond its scope. Throughout the text, mention has been made of some of the areas which require a more thorough treatment. However, in this section, these will be drawn together and some others mentioned as an outline for further study.

Obviously, one major area of the system is intonation and this has not been touched upon here at all. Several distinctive patterns have been noticed in the course of this research, but considerable further study must be done before it becomes worthwhile to attempt to formulate some statement of Aymara intonation patterns. Clearly, Aymara intonation is very different from the patterns which have been described for English or for Spanish, and only when such information is collected and analyzed can the study of Aymara phonology near completion.

Another major area for research is dialectology. It is known that students at INEL are interested in this, and some work is being done there. It is hoped that this work can be continued and expanded so that a complete statement of existing variation can be made.

From a historical approach, comparative studies must be continued which will place Aymara within the framework of its language family and perhaps reveal information concerning the former extension of the Jaqi family.

Finally, specific phonological aspects of the system must be further examined. The most significant one is the problem of vowel length whose further satisfactory description is surely dependent on grammatical analysis now in the process of being completed.

When a complete statement can be made concerning the distributions of Aymara phonemes, analysis into morphophonemes and integration of the phonology into the higher levels of description will become possible.

FOOTNOTES

[1] As an example of the sort of inaccurate descriptions which are still being published, one may examine the recent (1967) beginning grammar published by the Peace Corps for use in its training program. Many of the forms cited in the explanations and exercises were not recognizable by either of the two native informants used in the present study. Many others were rejected as insulting or quite rare. Much of this inaccuracy is within the realm of morphological analysis. However, several inaccuracies can be noted in the brief phonological description which is given. For example, the failure to recognize the extensive variation of the vowels is revealed by the outright statement that /i/ and /u/ are replaced by /e/ and /o/ in the environment of /q/ and /x/ (p. xiv). As much of the data used here has shown, this is certainly a distortion of the actual usage. Furthermore, the function of final vowel length in determining an apparent stress shift has been completely overlooked (p. 25; 95). In addition, such misleading transcriptions as [-tu] for the first person aorist (p. 12) reveals very slipshod field work. Since the first person inflection /-t/ often occurs in conjunction with the independent suffix /-wa/ 'affirmative sentence,' such forms as /curtwa/, /sartwa/ etc. are very frequent. The mishearing of these forms as *[curtuwa] and *[sartuwa] indicates carelessness in such elementary matters as

attention to stress patterns. The stress in these forms is always on the vowel preceding the inflection, obviously making impossible the presence of more than one post-stress vowel. This is merely an example of non-phonemic transitional vowels. (See 2.43.) One inflection, third person to first aorist, does take the form /-itu/.

[2] These tapes are available from the Department of Anthropology or the Center of Latin American Studies at the University of Florida. After September, 1970, they may also be obtained through the Office of Education, Institute of International Studies, Washington, D.C.

[3] Recent work in the morphological analysis of Aymara has revealed further significant evidence for believing that long vowels constitute two syllables or that the long vowel is seen as two representations and not just one long one. This evidence involves the occurrence of vowel length as a verbalizer of existence and concerns the fact that some Aymara suffixes require a preceding consonant. It appears that, when a form is verbalized by the lengthening of its final vowel and then takes a suffix which requires vowel dropping, the dropping is of only the length--one of the vowels. Thus, a long vowel may in some cases be represented only by the presence of a normal length vowel where no vowel would be expected (Hardman-de-Bautista, forthcoming; NDEA sponsored Aymara Language Project).

[4] A few inflected forms, principally second person to third person imperative and certain other forms (third-to-second person and fourth-to-third person aorist; third-to-second person future, and imperative; and third-to-second person present contrary to fact), end in consonants. These are rare cases and further suffixation will cause a vowel /a/ to be produced, as in /saramay/ 'please go' from /saram/ 'go (imperative).'

[5] The following is a partial listing of these $C_1V_1C_2C_1V_1$ roots:

/k'isk'i/ 'closely woven'

/č"ihč"i/ 'small hailstones'

/tixti/ 'drink made of peanuts'

/t'ult'u/ 'short stalks of oats left after harvesting'

/č'ixč'i/ 'spotted; freckled'

/k'ank'a/ 'rooster'

/q"ačq"a/ 'rough, like a frog's skin'

/č"uhč"u/ 'trembling fever'

/č'unč'u/ 'name given to jungle people; also, a dance'

/k'awk'a/ 'type of bread'

/t'uxt'u/ 'charred'

[6] In the speech of the monolingual informant on tape, there is some evidence that possible variation may occur with regard to the imperative. In one case, a final vowel was heard on an imperative form /waharama/. However, the stress remained constant on the syllable which normally takes it when the imperative is produced

without the vowel.

[7] An interesting phenomenon has been observed in the case of the /rl/ cluster in the form /parlaña/ 'to speak.' The addition of further consonants will cause the preferential dropping of the /r/ as in /palt'aña/ 'to speak briefly.'

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Short Text in Phonetic Transcription

Short story dictated on tape by Gervasio Moya, monolingual Aymara speaker about sixty years of age. Born in Llamacachi and never left.

Ellipses indicate omission of filled pauses, informant error, etc.

hič"ax, ma: tiwulampi̱, ma: wałatampɪw parla:na| qarqa patanakana
uk"əm istu wałataxa:| qənʊrəyasiskɪ̥ wawanakxa| ukataw ič"axa huti,
tiwulax hikxati|ʼa:y wałata, kamisatə̱rak humastɪ̥ ak"am p'asaŋqałanakstɪ̥
ḁk" suma wawačastaxa:| nayanx ɔqᵋkamakɪrakisa:| hənɪraks nayanx|
uk"am munt nayax| kunhamats wałat uk"əm humax uk wawanakxa wawačtaxa|
həniwḁ ti$\overset{y}{\text{w̃}}$u uk"ama:kiti| nayaxa uk"am wahañaw $\overset{ʊ}{\text{ā}}$ka wawaxa| waham,
wahárəmə| hičax nayač pirqt'arapi:mḁ| uhalay wałata, pɪrqt'arapitasman|
ma: waha, kunhams pɪrqɛristḁ ak"am u̥k apt"api̥ k̈ulanaka, apt"apipxe|
ukataw ukaxḁ tiwulaxa wahi, wahi, ya:sta| ña hani:ra:xɛw ukaxa
ya:sta parintɪ̥x| č"axḁ wawanak aptə́nima| ukaru anantañani| ukataw
k'upt"apɪñani| sapa:| q"ʊ:n, q"ʊnktkən qɪłqḁ, ma: qɪłq sas muyta:tax
humax| wawanakḁ uk"at ma: qɪłqanaka p'asaŋqałankix mɪsturan$\underset{e}{\text{ɪ}}$x| han
ukax uk"am nayanx wahataw aka wawaxaxa| ukataw uk"amax mistũxa:|
ukat ɪ̥č"ax uk"am luram| ya:sta, lurxataynaw| ukata ña ananta:skis
ukaw qutapampḁ ya:sta, wawanak ant'ata wałatax sarawayxɪ̥| sarawayxe
wałataxa:| ya:st, wawanakxa hačkɪrpača ananti uka waharu, ananti̥|

ukata p"at"ankanakapax p"ałaratayn q"ʊn ukawa...tiwula muytatayna|
walɪˌ kusisisaˌ ma: qɪłqa| mayampiˌ p"ałarakikiwˌ pa: qɪłqa|
mayampiˌ p"ałarakikiwˌ kimsa qɪłqa| mayampiˌ p"ałarakiw ɪusi
q_̰łqa| mayamp p"ałi̥ p"ɛsqa| ukata ɪ̥č"axa tiwul č"ax ałsutayñ...
hayaw wałatax sari| ałsusitayn q'ala t'ʊxt'ɔki wawanakax č"ast
ukasti hačatayn| intuns u̥k"amax uka qʊtx hič"ax wañt'ayapuni:|
kunats han wañt'ayax akxḁ| laq"ɔtaynḁ uka qʊtxḁ wañt'aya: sas|
haniw wayntʼk"ɛtaynati̥ˌ ni kunasḁ| yastaˌ purakax ak"amḁ uk"amakiw
sarxatayn purakax ak"ama| č'ińatsti umax čɪxosxataynaw| hič"axa
sikuyay pikt'itasmaˌ kayñarak pikt'itasmaˌ hačt'asis uk"amakiw
qᵓłutoqxa sarawayxataynḁ| tirminataw|

Appendix B1. Short Text in Phonemic Transcription with Translation

Ellipses indicate omission of filled pauses, informant errors, etc. Dropped and devoiced final vowels are provided in parenthesis.

Hič"ax(a). Ma: tiwulampi ma: wałatampiw(a) parla:na. Qarqa patanakana uk"am(a) istu wałataxa:...qunurayasisk(i) wawanakxa. Ukataw(a) hič"axa huti; tiwulax(a) hikxati. A:y wałata, kamisatarak(i) humast(i) ak"am(a) p'asanqałanakst(i) ak"a suma...wawačastaxa:? ...Nayanx(a) uqikamakirakisa:. Haniraks(a) nayanx(a). Uk"am(a) munt(a) nayax(a). Kunhamats(a) wałat(a) uk"am(a) humax(a) uk(a) wawanakxa wawačtaxa? Haniw(a) tiwu'uk"ama:kiti. Nayaxa uk"am(a) wahañaw(a) aka wawaxa. Waham, waharema. Hičax(a) nayač(a) pirqt'arapi:m(a). Uhalay(a), wałata, pirqt'arapitasman. Ma: waha, kunhams(a) pirqirist(a)? Ak"am(a) uk(a). Apt"ap(i) k̈ulanaka, apt"apipxi. Ukataw(a) ukax(a) tiwulaxa wani, wahi, ya:sta. Ña hani:ra:xiw(a) ukaxa ya:sta. Parintix(a). Hič"ax(a) wawanak(a) aptanima. Ukaru anantañani. Ukataw(a) k'upt"apiñani. Sapa: q"u:n, q"unktkan(i) qiłq(a), ma: qiłq(a) sas(a) muyta:tax(a) humax(a).

Wawanak(a) uk"at(a)...ma: qiłqanaka p'asanqałankix(a) misturanix(a). Han(i) ukax(a) uk"am(a) nayanx(a) wahataw(a) aka wawaxaxa. Ukataw(a) uk"amax(a) mistuxa:. Ukat(a) hic"ax(a) uk"am(a) luram. Ya:sta lurxataynaw(a). Ukata ña ananta:skis(a) ukaw(a) qutapamp(a) ya:sta wawanak(a) ant'ata wałatax(a) sarawayx(i). Sarawayx(i) wałataxa:. Ya:st(a) wawanakxa hačkirpača ananti uka waharu, anant(i). Ukata p"at"ankanakapax(a) p"alaratayñ(a) q"un ukawa...tiwula muytatayña. Wali, kusisisa, ma: qiłqa. Mayampi p"ałarakikiw(a) pa: qiłqa. Mayampi p"ałarakikiw(a) kimsa qiłqa. Mayampi p"ałarakiw(a)...pusi qiłqa. Mayamp(i) p"ał(i) p"isqa. Ukata hič"axa tiwul(a) hič"ax(a) ałsutayn(a)...haynaw(a) wałatax(a) sari. Ałsusitayn q'ala t'uxt'uki wawanakax(a) hič"ast(i) ukasti hačatayn(a). Intuns uk"amax(a) aka qutx(a) hič"ax(a) wañt'ayapuni:. Kunats(a) han(i) wañt'ayax(a) akx(a)? Laq"utayna uka qutx(a) wañt'aya: sas(a). Haniw(a) wañt'kxataynat(i), ni kunas(a). Yasta purakax(a) ak"am(a). Uk"amakiw(a) sarxataynа(a) purakax(a) ak"ama. Č'inatsti umax(a) čixusxataynaw(a). Hič"axa sikuyay(a) pikt'itasma, kayñarak(i) pikt'itasma hačt'asis(a) uk"amakiw(a) qu:łutuqxa sarawayxataуn(a). Tirminataw(a).

Now. A fox and an ostrich talked. On the rock, the ostrich was thus seating his offspring. Then, now he comes, the fox, to meet her.

"Hey, you Ostrich. How is it that you have such lovely children, like toasted corn? Mine are all grey! Mine aren't like that. I want some like that. How, Mr. Ostrich, have you had such children?"

"It's not that way, Mr. Fox. I toast them, these children. Toast them, toast them, one by one. Now I will build you a wall [i.e. for an oven]."

"I do wish you'd indeed build me a wall, Ostrich."

"An oven, how shall I build it? Like this."

They gathered clods; all of them gathered. Then that fox starts toasting, toasting. In no time, it's already hot.

'Now, bring the children. There we will shoo them in. Later we will cover them with earth. Each time it goes q"un, give a cheer. Saying a cheer, you'll do a little turn. And the children -- one cheer, they'll come out like toasted corn. At least, in that way I toast my children. Therefore, they come out like that. So now, do it like that."

He'd already done it! Then, when he was just ready to shoo them in, the ostrich with his children had already taken off across the river plain. The ostrich had already gone.

The babies crying he [the fox] shooed them into that oven, he shooed them in. Then their bellies popped q"un. Then the fox whirled around. Very happily, one cheer! There was a pop -- two cheers. There was another pop -- three cheers. There was another pop -- four cheers. Once more it popped -- five.

Now then the fox dug them up. (The ostrich has gone far.) He removed the babies, thoroughly charred. Now then he cried.

Then, "This lake, now I'll dry it up. Why shouldn't I dry it up?" He lapped that lake, saying "I'll dry it up."

He didn't dry it up, not a bit. Then his belly (was) like this. Thus, with his belly like this, he took off. From (his) tail, the water was streaming. Now "Careful the strawgrass sticks me. Careful the cane sticks me." Crying thus, he took off toward the hill.

The end.

Appendix B2: The story as it would appear in the Aymara alphabet (see appendix E) in an Aymara publication, edited from spoken script to conform to aymara written style by Pedro Copana Yapita.

Jich"ax mä tiwulamp mä wallatampiw parläna qarqa patanakana uk"an istu wallatax....qunurayasiski wawanakxa. Ukataw jich"ax juti; tiwulax jikxati. ⟨Äy wallata kamisatarak jumast ak"am p'asanqallanakst ak"a suma... wawachastaxä?....Nayanx uqikamakirakisä. Janirakis nayanx uk"amäkitixä. Uk"am munt nayax. Kunjamats wallata, uk"am jumax uka wawanakxa wawachtaxa? Janiw tiwul uk"amäkiti. Nayanxa ak"am wajañaw aka wawanakaxa. Wajam, Wajaram Jich"ax nayach pirqt'arapïma.⟩ Sasaw satayna. ⟨Ujalay wallata, pirqt'arapitasman.⟩ ⟨Mä waja, kunjams pirqirist uk"am uka.⟩ apt"api k"ulanaka apt"apipxi. Utakaw uka tiwulax waji, waji, yästa ñä janiräkiw, ukaxa yästa parintxiw. ⟨Jich"ax wawanak aptanim, ukaru anantañani ukataw k'upt"apiñani. Sapa q"ün q"unktkan uk"aw mä qillqa pä qillqa sas muytataxa jumax.⟩

⟨Wawanakax ukat ma qillqanaki p'asanqallanakakix misturanix, jan ukax uk"am nayanx wajataw aka wawanakaxa⟩ Ukataw uk"amax mistuxa. Ukat jich"ax uk"am luram, yästa lurxataynaw. Ukata ña anantäskis uk"aw qutapamp yästa wawanak ant'ata wallatax sarawayxi. Sarawayx wallatx yäst wawanakxa jachkirpacha ananti uka wajaru, ananti, ukata p"at"ankanakapax p"allaratayn sapa q"un siskix uk"aw tiwulax muytatayna. Wali kusisisa, mä qillqa, mayampi p"allarakikiw pä qillqa. Mayampi p"allarakikiw kimsa qillqa. Mayampi p"allarakiw....pusi qillqa. Mayamp p"all p"isqa. Ukata jich"axa tiwulax, jich"ax, allsutayn....ukch'añkamax jayaruw wallatax sari. Allsusitayn q'ala t'uxt'uki wawanakax jich"asti ukatsti jachatayn. Intuns uk"umax ⟨aka qutx jich"ax wañt'ayapunï. Kunats jan wañt'ayäx akx⟩ sasaw laq"utayna uka qutx ⟨want'ayä⟩ sas.

Janiw wañt'aykxataynati, nikunas, yasta purakax ch'itiki, uk"amakiw sarxatayna (purakax ak"ama) ch'inatsti umax ch"ixusxataynaw. Jich"ax ⟨sikuyarak pikt"itasma, kayñarak pikt'itasma⟩ jacht'asis uk"amakiw qullutuqxa sarawayxatayna.

Tirminataw.

Appendix C: Frequency Count of Aymara Phonemes

Total phonemes counted in short narrative text 1,376.

Long vowels were counted as two. Dropped vowels were not counted, but devoiced allophones were included. Every phoneme occurred at least once.

Phonemes in descending order of frequency and number of occurrences:

/a/	430	/ł/	22
/i/	110	/k"/	18
/u/	86	/l/	18
/t/	82	/ñ/	13
/k/	73	/t'/	12
/w/	71	/č"/	10
/n/	69	/č/	8
/x/	60	/p"/	7
/m/	56	/t"/	4
/s/	54	/q"/	4
/y/	40	/p'/	2
/p/	33	/q'/	1
/r/	33	/k'/	1
/h/	29	/č'/	1
/q/	29		

Appendix D: Root Consonant Clusters in Aymara (Continuent plus Occlusive)

	p	p"	p'	t	t"	t'	č	č"	č'	k	k"	k'	q	q"	q'
s	✓				✓					✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
h				✓	✓	✓									
x⃒				✓	✓	✓									
m	✓	✓	✓												
n				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
l						✓									
ł	✓		✓	✓			✓						✓		✓
r	✓	✓				✓	✓			✓			✓	✓	✓
y		✓	✓				✓			✓			✓		
w				✓						✓		✓	✓		✓

Appendix E: Aymara Alphabet

A phonemic alphabet has been developed by Juan de Dios Yapita for use in teaching native Aymara speakers to read and write their own language. This alphabet is now being used in the publication of a regular Aymara Newsletter, available from the Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, of which Mr. Yapita is editor, and throughout the teaching materials being prepared at the University of Florida under an NDEA sponsored grant.

The alphabet consists of 18 symbols, use of four diacritics and two digraphs. A listing follows which pairs the phoneme symbol used in this thesis and the alphabet letter which represents it.

/a/	a	/k'/	k'
/a:/	ā	/l/	l
/č/	ch	/ł/	ll
/č"/	ch"	/m/	m
/č'/	ch'	/n/	n
/h/	j	/ñ/	ñ
/i/	i	/p/	p
/i:/	ī	/p"/	p"
/k/	k	/p'/	p'
/k"/	k"	/q/	q

/q"/	q"
/q'/	q'
/r/	r
/s/	s
/t/	t
/t"/	t"
/t'/	t'
/u/	u
/u:/	ū
/w/	w
/x/	x
/y/	y

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CHAPTER IV

MORPHOPHONEMICS

0. Pattern of variation

Aymara morphophonemics is one of the more complex and important areas of Aymara grammatical structure; morphophonemic variations are more closely tied to the morphology and syntax of the language than to the phonology.

The predominate mode of morphophonemic conditioning is that of dropping or retaining vowels. The following conventions are observed throughout this chapter and hereafter: if a morpheme is said to follow a consonant, then it causes the vowel of the preceding morpheme to drop; if it is said to follow a vowel, then it causes the vowel of the preceding morpheme to remain. However, if it is said that a vowel follows a given morpheme, it means that, when other suffixes are added, that morpheme retains its own vowel; if it is said that a consonant follows a given morpheme, then that morpheme will drop its vowel whenever other suffixes are added.

The symbolization convention is as follows: a subscript lower case omega $_{\omega}$ indicates obligatory consonant, e.g. $_{\omega}$-ta$_{\omega}$ '1→3S';
a subscript lower case nu $_{\nu}$ indicates obligatory vowel, e.g. $_{\nu}$-ta$_{\nu}$ 'V>N resultant'.

An example of what this marking would indicate is as follows:

chura- 'to give' + $_{n}$-ta$_{n}$ + -wa> churtwa 'I give'

chura- 'to give' + $_{v}$-ta$_{v}$ + -wa> churatawa 'the given'

Where there is no mark either it is irrelevant to the discussion, or the status is unknown, or the form exerts no influence of its own, but permits other factors to operate, deciding its form. This is the case, for example, with the -wa sentence suffix, which allows the preceding morpheme and/or syntactical considerations to decide whether it will follow a consonant or a vowel.

1. Phonologically conditioned allomorphs

Phonological conditions resulting in morphological variations are few; the resulting variations are trivial in terms of the consequences for the general structure of Aymara.

1.1 Canonical form conditions.

Roots containing three or more vowels will drop the last vowel when entering into more complex syntactic constructions. The same rule applies limitedly within noun stem formation (see Chap. VIII).

uta 'house'   ch'uxña 'green'

ch'uxña uta 'green house'

ch'iyara 'black'   ch'iyar uta 'black house'

1.2 Geminate clusters

When a geminate consonant cluster results from the application of the morphological rules (see 2 below), it is commonly reduced to a simple consonant, resulting in zero allomorphs for one or more of the morphemes involved. The length is recoverable, however, and the form may be so articulated in limited circumstances, e.g., aka 'here' + ${}_{v}$-na$_{a}$ 'in' + ${}_{a}$-ka- 'verbalizer' + ${}_{a}$-ka- 'incompletive' + ${}_{a}$-ta$_{a}$ '1→3S' + -ti 'yes/no interrogative' > aka.n.k.k.t.ti = /akankti/; janiw akankktti 'I am not here'.

A geminate vowel cluster resulting from vowel retention rule in noun phrases when the final vowel of the modifier is the same as the initial vowel of the head may give rise to a long vowel, but may also reduce to a simple vowel, e.g., uka aru.wa = /ukaruwa/ 'It's that word'.

Geminate vowel clusters resulting at morpheme boundaries more typically reduce, e.g. kawki 'where' + ${}_{v}$-:- 'N>V existential' + ${}_{a}$-iri 'agentive, that which' > kawki.:.iri = /kawkiri/ 'which'.

1.3 Predominance by /u/.

A final /u/ of any root or suffix will dominate any initial /i/ in a following suffix.

usu- 'to be ill' + ${}_{a}$-itu '3→1S' >
usutu 'I am ill.'

katu- 'to grab' + ${}_{a}$-iri 'agentive' > **katuri 'grabber'**

irpsu- 'to take out a person' + ${}_{a}$-itäta '2>1F' > irpsutäta 'You will take me out.'

1.4 Cluster assimilation of /chC/.

The phoneme /ch/ becomes /s/ when the operation of morphological morphophonemic rules make it other than the final consonant of a consonant cluster. This is particularly important for allomorphs of {-chi} suppositional (see chap. VII 3.02).

chura- 'give' + $_{a}$-chi 'suppositional' + $_{a}$-ta$_{a}$ '1→3S'

> chursta 'Surely I gave.'

1.5 Reduction of /j/ to /"/.

All suffixes beginning with /j/ may reduce to /"/ when preceded by a consonant. In the frozen stems *uk"ama* and *ak"ama* 'so, like that, like this', the shift has become permanent. Most frequently affected are the noun suffixes {-ja} and {-jama} (see chap. VIII 3.22.3).

2. Morphologically conditioned allomorphs.

Part of the identity of suffixes is the way in which they govern the shape of the morphemes in contact with them, and the way in which they respond to the presence of other morphemes in the environment.

The conditioning is morphologically determined and must therefore be specified for each suffix. Charts IV.A through IV.G list all suffixes treated in this grammar according to requiring conditions.

Some patterning by morphological class occurs:

Verbal inflectional suffixes normally specify the environment both before and after and act as major conditioners of the shapes of other suffixes.

Verbal derivational suffixes, with one exception, only specify the preceding environment. The one exception is the only suffix which cannot directly precede inflectional suffixes. Otherwise, the final form of the derivational suffix is determined by the inflection, or following derivationals.

Noun suffixes normally specify the preceding environment. The complement suffixes also specify the following environment: the form of the others is determined by following suffixes and/or syntactic considerations. This is a reflection of the zero complement (see 3 below), a syntactic consideration in complementary distribution with the complement suffixes.

Independent suffixes require a previous vowel; and shape is decided by other considerations.

The sentence suffixes ordinarily exert no influence of their own but accommodate themselves to the demands of the preceding environment.

Theme formatives do not pattern as a class.

In addition to these class generalizations, there are two which are partially phonological:

Morphemes consisting of or beginning with /˝/ or /:/, vowel length, require a preceding vowel--in order to lengthen it. When the sequence is V+ ˝ $+_n$-suf, the effect of the consonant demand will be to shorten the vowel--not remove it. The result is that the occurrence of V preceding morphemes requiring C, marks the presence of length otherwise unmarked in this environment.

Morphemes with initial /i/ (the only vowel to occur in initial position in suffixes) require a proceding consonant; vowel clusters are not permitted.

Morphophonemics plays a very important role in distinguishing homophones. One salient example is that of the five morphemes consisting of the base phonemic form /-ta/, each of which has a distinctive morphophonemic conditioning (see chart IV H).

3. Syntactically conditioned allomorphs.

Virtually all stems/roots have two allomorphs syntactically conditioned in two circumstances: when preceding the head of a phrase, and when functioning as zero complement. Only free stems/roots appear in these circumstances which means substantives or nominalized forms; bound verb root/stems and inflected verbs may not occupy these positions. However, within a sentence, all phrase final words will drop the final vowel unless the speaker pauses for air, thus giving rise to the corresponding allomorphs of inflected verbs. Stylistic considerations, a level beyond syntax, govern the dropping of vowels sentence/clause finally.

3.1 Noun phrases.

Noun phrases consisting of modifier(s) plus head demand the retention of the final vowel on the modifier(s) (unless the modifier(s) has 3 vowels--see paragraph .1 above).

aka jat"i q'ipiwa 'This heavy back pack.'

However, when several modifiers precede, thus reflecting nesting, vowel retention will depend upon immediate constituency of the embedded phrases, see chap VIII 4.21.21.1.

3.2 Verb phrases.

Because verb phrases demand a nominalization in all forms preceding the head, all such forms have three vowels or more; they all drop the final vowel.

liyiñ yatiqañ muntwa 'I want to learn to read.'

uñjir sarä 'I will go to see.'

3.3 Complements.

The syntactical relationship of complement of verb stem (vs. complement of verb inflection) is marked by the obligatory dropping of the stem vowel, before the addition of sentence suffixes. (The subject ordinarily demands retention of the vowel.) This complement is known as the zero complement (see chap. VIII 3.23).

kuns q'ipi 'What does she carry?' contrasts with kunas q'ipi 'What is doing the carrying?' (an uncommon form, since q'ipi- is normally human). The answer would be, e.g., ch'uq q'ipi 'She carries potatoes' which contrasts with ch'uqi q'ipi 'the potato back load'. Additionally, the vowel drop conditioning precludes the occurrence of the sentence suffix -wa (but not of other sentence suffixes) unless the zero complement is the final (and usually only) word in the sentence.

K"its irpäta.	'Who will you take?'
Waw irpä.	'I will take the baby.'
K"itis irpätam.	'Who will take you?'
Wawaw irpätam.	'The baby will take you.'

Abreviations for charts:

S - simple tense

D - desiderative

Re - remonstrator

I - imperative

R - remote

F - future

V>N - nominalizer

N>V - verbalizer

> - becomes, gives

MORPHOPHONEMICS - CHART A: MORPHEMES REQUIRING CONSONANT BEFORE AND AFTER $\cap$---$\cap$

VERB DERIV.	VERB INFLECTION	NOUN	INDEPENDENT . SENTENCE . OTHER
	S $_{\cup}$ - ta$_{\cap}$	$_{\cap}$-$\emptyset$-$_{\cap}$	
	$_{\cup}$ - tan$_{\cap}$		
	$_{\cap}$ - tam$_{\cap}$		
	D $_{\cap}$ - irista$_{\cap}$		
	$_{\cap}$ - iristam$_{\cap}$		
	Re $_{\cap}$ - iriskasamäna$_{\cap}$		
	$_{\cap}$ - itasamäna$_{\cap}$		
	$_{\cap}$ - iriskäta$_{\cap}$		
	$_{\cap}$ - itasapana$_{\cap}$		
	$_{\cap}$ - istasapäna$_{\cap}$		
	$_{\cap}$ - iriskatamäna$_{\cap}$		

MORPHOPHONEMICS - CHART B: MORPHEMES REQUIRING VOWEL BEFORE AND AFTER v---v

VERB DERIV.	VERB INFLECTION	NOUN	INDEPENDENT	SENTENCE	OTHER
	I v -"ma$_v$	v - ru$_v$			v-ta-v
	R v - yäsma$_v$	v - taki$_v$			
	v - tayna$_v$				
	v - yäta$_v$				
	D v - spa$_v$				
	v - sma$_v$				
	Re v - sapäna$_v$				

MORPHOPHONEMICS - CHART C: MORPHEMES REQUIRING VOWEL BEFORE, CONSONANT AFTER v---$_n$

VERB DERIV.	VERB INFLECTION	NOUN	INDEPENDENT	SENTENCE	OTHER
	R v -"na$_n$	v -na-$_n$			
	v - yäte$_n$	v -ta-$_n$			
	v - yätan$_n$				
	v - yätam$_n$				
	Re v - sana$_n$				
	v - samäna$_n$				

MORPHOPHONEMICS - CHART D: MORPHEMES REQUIRING CONSONANT BEFORE, VOWEL AFTER n---v.

VERB DERIV.	VERB INFLECTION	NOUN	INDEPENDENT	SENTENCE	OTHER
	S n - sma$_v$	n-itu-v			
	n - ista$_v$	n-ch'a-v			
	n - i$_v$				
	n - itu$_v$				
	n - istu$_v$				
	I n - ta$_v$				
	n - pa$_v$				
	n - itpa$_v$				
	n - m$_v$				
	n -¨tam$_v$				
	R n - istästa$_v$				
	n - itütu$_v$				
	n - istüstu$_v$				
	D n - irisma$_v$				
	n - itasma$_v$				
	n - sna$_v$				

MORPHOPHONEMICS - CHART E: MORPHEMES REQUIRING CONSONANT BEFORE, PERMITTING EITHER CONSONANT OR VOWEL OFTER ∩---

VERB DERIV.	VERB INFLECTION	NOUN	INDEPENDENT	SENTENCE	OTHER
∩-ch'uki-	F ∩ - itäta	∩ - ja			∩ - ka
∩-ja-	∩ - itani	∩ - jita			∩ - iri
∩-ka-	∩ - istani	∩ - kata ~ -kati			
∩-kata-	D ∩ - itaspa(n)	∩ - pacha$_1$			
∩-naqa-	∩ - istaspa(n)	∩ - pacha$_2$			
∩-nuqa-	Other ∩ - pacha	∩ - sa (locational)			
∩-su-	∩ - chi	∩ - xa (locational)			
∩-ta-					
∩-t'a-					
∩-t"api-					
∩-xa-$_2$ (comple-tive)					
∩-xa-$_3$ (plural)					
∩-xaru-					
∩-xa:si-					
∩-xata-					
∩-xaya-					
∩-jita-					
∩-pacha-$_1$					
∩-pacha-$_2$					

MORPHOPHONEMICS - CHART F: MORPHEMES REQUIRING VOWEL BEFORE, PERMITTING EITHER VOWEL OR CONSONANT AFTER v---

VERB DERIV.	VERB INFLECTION	NOUN	INDEPENDENT	SENTENCE	OTHER
v -aha	F v -¨ma	v - mpi	v - puni	v - ya	v -ña-
v -kipa	v - ni	v - ṅaka	v - ki	v -¨	v -si-
v -ni	v -¨	v - ni	v - raki		v -wi-
v -ñta	v - nãni	v - qata			v -¨-
v -nuku-	v - ¨ta	v - wisa			v -pta
v -qa-	v -¨tam	v - wja			
v -ra-	I v -¨	v - :xa			
v -rapi-	v - ñani	v - xa			
v -raqa-	v - ïtpə (n)	v - ma			
v -rpaya-		v - pa			
v -si-$_1$ (reflexive)		v - sa			
v -si-$_2$ (continuative)					
v -tata-					
v -waya-					
v -ya-					

MORPHOPHONEMICS - CHART G: MORPHEMES WITH COMPLEX, INDETERMINATE AND/OR UNDETERMINED MORPHOPHONEMIC STATUS, MORPHEMES HAVING NO CHARACTERISTICS OF THEIR OWN, PERMITTING EITHER CONSONANT OR VOWEL TO EITHER PRECEDE OR FOLLOW ---

VERB DERIV.	VERB INFLECTION	NOUN	INDEPENDENT	SENTENCE	OTHER
		- layku	- jama	- wa	
		- tuqi		- xa	
		- kama		- sa	
				- ti	
				- sti	
				- cha	
				- pi	
				- chi(m)	

Chart H - Morphophonemic distinctions between homonyms

q'ipiña	'to carry on the back'
q'ipi	'back pack'

		+-wa	
${}_{n}$-ta$_{n}$	'1→3S'	>q'iptwa	'I carry'
${}_{n}$-ta$_{v}$	'2→3S'	>q'iptawa	'you carry'
${}_{v}$-ta$_{v}$	'V>N result'	>q'ipitawa	'the readied load'
${}_{v}$-ta$_{n}$	'from (noun)'	>q'ipitwa	'from the back pack'
${}_{n}$-ta	'up (verb deriv.)'	>q'ipta-*	'to pick up a back pack'

*q'ipta- is a verb stem which is bound: it must take inflection or nominalization before occurring before -wa.

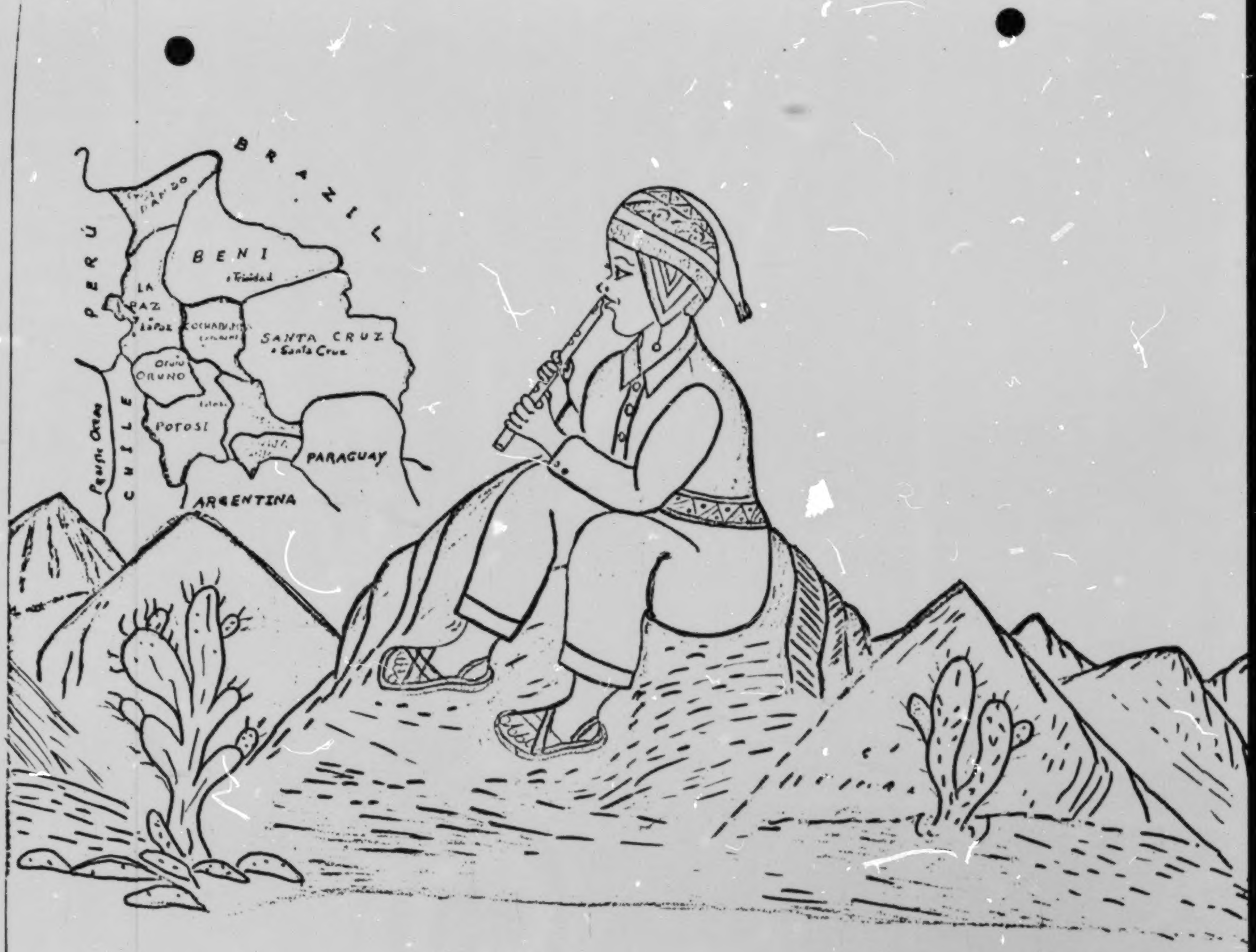
- More than one /-ta/ per root.

1. ${}_{v}$-ta$_{v}$ + ${}_{n}$-ta$_{n}$ q'ipi + V>N + -:- 'N>V'
   + ${}_{n}$-ta$_{n}$ = q'ipi.ta.:.ta (+-wa) >
   q'ipitätwa 'I was a load on the back.'
2. Same, but with ${}_{n}$-ta$_{v}$ >q'ipitätawa
   'You were a load on the back.'
3. ${}_{v}$-ta$_{v}$ + ${}_{v}$-ta$_{n}$ > q'ipitatwa
   'from the readied load'
4. ${}_{n}$-ta + ${}_{n}$-ta$_{n}$ >q'ipttwa
   'I picked up the back pack.'
5. ${}_{n}$-ta + ${}_{n}$-ta$_{v}$ > q'ipttawa
   'You picked up the back pack.'
6. ${}_{n}$-ta + ${}_{v}$-ta$_{v}$ > q'iptatawa
   'The readied picked up back pack.'
7. ${}_{n}$-ta + ${}_{v}$-ta$_{v}$ + ${}_{v}$-ta$_{n}$ >q'iptatatwa
   'From the readied picked up back pack.'
8. ${}_{n}$-ta +${}_{v}$-ta$_{v}$+ ${}_{v}$-:-$_{v}$ + ${}_{n}$-ta$_{n}$ >q'iptatätwa
   V>N N>V
   "I was picked up like a back pack.'

9. ${}_{n}$-ta + ${}_{v}$-ta${}_{v}$ + ${}_{v}$-:-${}_{v}$ + ${}_{v}$-ta${}_{v}$ > q'iptatät

V>N N>V

'You were picked up like a back pack.'


BRAZIL
PERÚ
PANDO
BENI
Trinidad
LA PAZ
La Paz
COCHABAMBA
SANTA CRUZ
Santa Cruz
Oruro
ORUNO
POTOSI
PARAGUAY
CHILE
Pacific Ocean
ARGENTINA

CHAPTER V
STRUCTURE OF MORPHOLOGICAL SYSTEM

1 Structure of the Aymara Word

1.1 Morphological Nodes.

The primary form classes are root and suffix. The primary function classes are verb, noun, particle, and universal. The form and function coordinates intersect with each other, giving the following morphologica nodes:

	ROOT	SUFFIX
NOUN	I Substantive Roots	V Substantive Suffixes
VERB	II Verb Roots	VI Verbal Derivational Suffixes Verbal Inflectional Suffixes VII
PARTICLE	III Particle Roots	VIII Independent Suffixes
UNIVERSAL	IV Interrogative Roots	IX Sentence Suffixes

X
N>V

XI
V>N

Two additional nodes, verbalization and nominalization, permit interaction between nodes I/II and nodes V/VI.

Each node is briefly described below; where treated in detail elsewhere, the chapter is so indicated.

1.11 Description of Morphological Nodes.

The three major root classes are: substantives, verbs, and particles; the interrogative class overrides the substantive/verb classes.

There is a small class of roots in Aymara which are ambiguous as to class. They may take either nominal or verbal suffixes without modification. The pairs which result are semantically related.

manq'a	'food' (substantive root)
manq'a-	'to eat' (verb root)
q'ipi	'back pack' (substantive root)
q'ipi-	'to carry on the back' (verb root)

Substantive and particle roots are free: verb roots are bound. All suffixes are bound morphemes.

The classes of suffixes are: nominal derivational suffixes, verbal derivational suffixes, verbalizers, nominalizers, verbal inflections, independent suffixes, and sentence suffixes.

The only suffixes which are clearly inflectional are the verb inflectional suffixes, which close stems to class change (i.e., do not permit a verb stem to be renominalized). Other verbal suffixes, and all substantive suffixes, leave stems open to class change.

The suffixes vary considerably in function, acting on the root, the stem, other suffixes; acting morphologically or syntactically; if syntactic, on the phrase, clause, or sentence level.

1.11.1 Substantive Roots (node I) - See Chapter VIII

Substantive roots include the subclasses of nominal, prominals (demonstrative and personal), number, temporal and positional roots. This class is distinguished from verbs and particles in that it takes nominal suffixes, all of which are derivational suffixes. It also takes independent suffixes and sentence suffixes. The subclasses of the substantives are primarily defined by limitations in the suffixes which they may take, although there are some other criteria. Substantive roots and stems may be verbalized by a number of suffixes to become verb themes. Substantive roots are free; they may occur without any suffix and the recitation form is the root alone.

1.11.2 Verb Roots (node II) - See Chapters VI and VII.

Verb roots are distinguished from substantive and particle roots in that they take verbal derivational suffixes and verbal inflections. Verb roots also take independent suffixes and sentence suffixes. Most verb roots and many themes may be nominalized by a number of suffixes to become substantive themes. Verb roots are bound; they must be inflected to be a verbal word, or nominalized to be a substantive word. The recitation form of the verb root is the root plus the nominalizer {-ña}.

Grammatically, only the division between saña 'to say' and other verbs is relevant. Other subclasses, all covert, have yet to be worked out in detail, but the following deserve mention:

Human vs. non-human subjects: Most verb roots take, preferentially, human subjects, but may take non-human subjects. However, some roots take only non-human subjects, e.g.

achu.ña	'to produce'
ch'uqi.w ach.u	'They produce potatoes.'
	or 'Potatoes are produced.'
tuku.ña	'to finish'
yapu.w tuk.u	'The field is finished.'

(These roots may be made human, however, by the addition of -ya 'personal causative', e.g.

ch'uqi.w achu.y.ta	'I produce potatoes.'
	or 'I cause potatoes to produce.'
yapu.w tuku.y.ta	'I finish the field.'
	or 'I cause the field to be finished.')

Human vs. non-human zero complement: The zero complement of most verbs is preferentially non-human and may only be human under extraordinary circumstances. Some verbs roots, however, take only human zero complements, e.g.

irpa.ña	'to take (a person)'
marka.ru.w waw irpa.:	'I'll take the child to town.'

'Carry' verbs: Transport of articles is classified by shape, weight, size, texture, quantity, mode, container. This set of verbs interacts in specific ways with a sub-set of the Class I verbal derivationals and also acts to classify nominals into ethnosemantic categories by which verb accompanies it. For example:

aya.ña	'to carry a cylindrical object'
asa.ña	'to carry something in a container with a handle'
jach'i.ña	'to carry granulars in the hand (small quantity)'

Non-human subjects/human objects: Bodily conditions, weather, 'acts of God,' diseases, misfortunes, possessions, are seen as subjects acting on (primarily) human objects. The exact limits of semantic field have not yet been worked out.

'I'm hungry.'	manq'a.t awt.j.itu	'Famine comes to me from hunger.'
'I don't have any money.'	jani.w qullqi.x ut.j.k.itu.ti	'The money is not to me.'
'I have a headache.'	p'iqi.w us.utu	'The head aches to me.'
'I'm cold.'	t"ay.j.itu.wa	'Cold is to me.'
'I'm sleepy.'	iki.w pur.itu	'Sleep arrives to me.'

The study of the interplay of verb roots and derivational suffixes and these with types of objects has just begun; this study will reveal verbal subclasses with greater precision.

1.11.3 *Particle Roots* (node III)

Particles are distinguished from other roots in that they take only independent or sentence suffixes, or do not take any suffixes. Also, they answer *-ti* questions rather than *-sa* questions with the single exception of *walikiw*, which is the only possible answer (affirmative or negative) to the interrogative *kamisa* 'How are you?'

Aymara has borrowed and is borrowing many particles from Spanish. The list below includes some of them, but since the specific list will vary from dialect to dialect (and even from idiolect to idiolect), often reflecting the degree of bilingualism, those included can only be considered representative.

Particles which have occurred only without suffix.

jisa 'yes'

jina 'let's go'

jalla 'oh', as in the phrase *jalla ukasti* 'Oh, so that's it.'

ampi 'please'

iyaw 'okay'

chu 'listen!'

chuy 'hey!'

ya 'now, OK' (Spanish *ya*)

jani 'negative' (See Chap. VIII 1.4.)

ina- usually occurring with -sa as *inasa* 'maybe'

lij 'well, but, then' (space filler introducer)

Forms occurring only as particles but that further analysis may place with temporal nouns.

niya 'already'

jich"a 'now'

anch"ita 'right now'

awisasa 'sometimes' (Spanish - *a veces*)

maki 'in a hurry, fast'

nink"ara 'a little while ago'

Complex frozen forms

antisansa 'better, rather'

walikiw 'OK, yes, fine, agreed'

Miscellaneous

yasta 'all set' (Spanish - *ya está*)
winustiyas 'good day' (Spanish - *buenos días*)
awira 'to see, let's see' (Spanish - *a ver*)
yämas 'at least' (affirmative sense = Andean Spanish - '*a lo menos*' which contrasts with '*por lo menos*' which is negative)
piru 'but' (Spanish - pero)
winusnuchs 'good evening' (Spanish - *buenas noches*)

1.11.4 Interrogative roots (node IV)

All subclasses of subtantives and verbs have a direct interrogative counterpart. Interrogatives, thus, may take all suffixes that either nominals or verbals may take, including thematic alternations. They may also enter into any and all syntactic constructions; in cooccurrence with particular sentence suffixes they act as indefinites and/or may subordinate (see Chap. XI and XII).

Because the subclasses of substantives are morphologically marked, the substantive/interrogative correspondence is more precisely marked; verbs are subsumed in two categories. Furthermore, as substantive subclasses are marked by the suffixes they take, so also are the corresponding interrogatives; indeed, a particular class may be demanded in reply by the use of suffixes limited to particular classes.

Human pronominals, and all nominals for which jupa may substitute: k"iti

k"iti.s jut.i	jupa.w jut.i
'Who came?'	'She came.'

Non-human pronominals, and all nominals and spatials for which one or more of the members of this class may substitute: kuna/kawki

kuna.s ut.j.i	aka.w ut.j.i
'What is there?'	'There is this.'
kawki.s q'ipa.xa	k"uri.w q'ipa.xa
'Where's the load?'	'Over yon's the load.'

The use of the suffixes -sa and -ch'a, limited to the demonstrative class, with the interrogative, demands a demonstrative in reply.

kun.ch' chur.i	ak.ch' chur.i
'Of what size did he give?'	'Of this size he gave.'
kawk.sa.ru.s jut.i	ak.sa.ru.w jut.i
'To what side did she go?'	'She went to this side.'

Number substantives answer to: qawq"a

qawq"as akaxa	ukax tunkawa
'How much is this?'	'That is ten.'

With the personal counter -ni, a human answer is required.

qawq"anis jutta	kimsaniw jutta
'How many of you came?'	'Three of us came.'

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Temporal interrogatives, as temporal nominals, are complex constructions and await further analysis (but see Chap. VIII).

Only one particle has an interrogative counterpart which, in its turn, has only the particle as counterpart: kamisa 'How are you', usually accompanied by independent suffixes, elicits walikiw 'fine', or the negative thereof.

kamisaraki 'How are you?'	walikiw 'I'm fine.'

Verbs are divided into two classes: that which can be said, and that which can be done.

kamsaña	'what to say'
jupa.x kams.i.sa 'What did she say?'	chur.t.wa s.i.w '"I gave," she said.'
kamachaña	**'what to do'**

juma.naka.n.st yunta.ma.x ut.ja.raki.:n.s kamacha.xa.pxa.rak.ta
'You-all had a team, what did **you-all do?'**

yunt al.xa.px.t.wa	'We sold the team.'
kuna.s kamach.tam	'What's the matter with you?'
p'iqi.w us.utu	'My head aches.'

In the last example, two questions are asked and two are answered - one nominal and one verbal.

Thus the basic questions in Aymara reflect the basic morphological categories:

k"iti - human nominals
kuna - non-human nominals
kawki - spatials
qawq"a - number
kamisa - particle
kamsaña - non-personal knowledge (saying)
kamachaña- personal knowledge (doing)

·The last three forms are derived from proto-Jaqi *kama: kamisa < kama + -isa (or iša) of uncertain derivation; kamsaña < kama + saña 'to say'; kamachaña < kama + -cha stem causative (also verbalizer). However, the root is no longer productive and the interrogative forms are 'frozen' in contemporary Aymara.

Interrogative morphophonemics follow the corresponding non-interrogative form.

1.11.5 Substantive Suffixes (node V) (see Chap. VIII)

Substantive suffixes occur with substantive roots. There are two classes of substantive suffixes.

The Class I suffixes include locationals, possessor/enumerator, personal possessives, plural, conjoiner, and includer. Class I substantive suffixes have no effect on the basic morphological and syntactic structure of the sentence. That is, they are optional morphologically and syntactically, though perhaps not semantically.

Class II suffixes are the relational/complement suffixes, three final suffixes, and the zero complement. Class II relational/complement and zero complement do have an effect on the morphological and syntactic structure of the sentence. They are required on substantives which express the complements of the verb inflection or verb stem, although these substantives are themselves syntactically optional.

The noun and verb systems are tied together primarily through the second class of substantive suffixes, in the following way.

Every sentence which has a verb contains at least a subject and a complement, although more persons may be involved in many sentences, creating several complements. This is a characteristic of the verbal inflection, and need not be indicated nominally in the sentence. If, however, the persons involved in the sentence are stated outside the verb, they are identified by a suffix from Class II. Complements are very closely connected with, and dependent on, the verb root and the verbal derivational suffixes as well as the inflections. The usual complement suffix on nouns is -ru, which indicates the object of the verb, as shown in the person inflection, and is tied to the inflectional part of the verb. (-ru may also function as a simple directional suffix on non-human nominals and on human nominals of -rapi or sometimes -ya sentences.)

All verbs also have a zero complement which distinguishes the object of the action. The zero complements for each verb are the objects which semantically are most closely identified with a particular verb root or stem and which are marked structurally by an absence of any complement noun suffix and by an obligatory absence of the final vowel of the noun stem. The zero complement is usually, but not necessarily, found directly preceding the verb in a sentence. The use of verbal derivational suffixes with a verb root changes the zero complement for the verb - the resulting verb stem will have different zero complements from the original verb root. The zero complement is thus tied to the pre-inflectional part of the verb.

An example will illustrate the -ru and zero complements:

Jupaw	jupar	t'ant'	chur.i	'He gives him bread.'
He	to him	bread	he-him gives	

t'ant'a 'bread' loses its vowel to become zero complement of the verb chura.ña 'to give.' It is the complement of the root. jupa 'he' adds -ru to become the complement of the 3p to 3p inflection -i. jupaw, the subject, is also indicated by the inflection.

Other complements are associated with verb stems containing different verbal derivational suffixes. The beneficiary suffix -rapi- takes a beneficiary complement marked by -taki where the -ru complement of the non-rapi stem would occur. The causative suffix -ya takes either a -ru complement or an -mpi complement of the new actor. The reflective suffix -si- affects the complement which is a possessive phrase or some part of it. The victimary -raqa changes the -ru complement to a possessor marked with -na; the zero complement is obligatorily possessed.

1.11.6 Verbal Derivational Suffixes (node VI) (see Chap. VII)

Verbal derivational suffixes number 32, and fall into two classes. Class one acts upon the root/stem; class two acts upon the inflectional suffix. Class one are limited in distribution in that not all suffixes occur with all roots; class two are not so limited in that virtually all may occur with virtually all verb/roots/stems. Class one may determine the type of zero complement; class two may determine the type of -ru complement and/or suffix which will replace -ru in the accompanying noun phrase.

1.11.7 Verbal Inflectional Suffixes (node VII) (see Chap. VII)

Verbal inflections indicate tense and person. Tense involves time and mode. There are 5 primary tenses in Aymara, future, and simple (non-future), remote, imperative, and desiderative. Each one has a complete paradigm of verb inflection. In addition to these primary tenses, there are inflections for the remonstrator, inferential (in 3 tenses) and suppositional (in 6 tenses).

Aymara has four simple persons: first person is I (or we) exclusive of you, second person is you exclusive of me, third person is he/she/they exclusive of me and you, fourth person is you and I. Verbal inflections include both subject and complement, and the four persons are combined in a total of nine ways. These are 1p to 2p, 1p to 3p, 2p to 1p, 2p to 3p, 3p to 1p, 3p to 2p, 3p to 3p, 3p to 4p, and 4p to 3p. These inflections cannot at the present time be divided into morphemes for the different persons. Aymara does not inflect for singular and plural, nor for gender.

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1.11.8 Independent Suffixes (node VIII) (see Chap. X)

In the node chart, independent suffixes are lined up with particles because they share various characteristics, viz. the semantic spread, while it may encompass the whole sentence, tends to be more limited; the grammatical function, while not entirely absent, is limited, and, where present, transparent; both act at times more like clitics than like members of their repective classes, e.g., particle jich"a frequently reduces to -ch"a or ch"a-; the independents are readily separable by native speakers, and, for bilinguals, replaced by Spanish particles when speaking Spanish.

Independent suffixes are added to stems/themes, thus, in verbs separating the inflection from the preinflection. The semantic component added by the independent is not hard to identify; it ordinarily affects only the word or small scale syntactic unit but may affect the whole sentence.

Independents may occur with any type of stem/root/theme. They are largely in units unto themselves without grammatical repercussions in other parts of the system.

1.11.9 Sentence Suffixes (node IX) (see Chaps. XI and XII)

Sentence suffixes mark and characterize a sentence. In combination they mark parts of sentences and relate these parts to the whole. The grammatical function of sentence suffixes is of overriding importance to all of Aymara grammar.

Because these suffixes are virtually untranslatable, their function has been largely ignored, sometimes being labeled 'adornments' or 'decorations'. The description given in Chapter XI and the syntactical patterning described in Chapter XII, is far from complete but, we believe, account for a great deal more of Aymara structure than any previous account. Further work in this area is in progress.

1.11.10 Nominalizers and Verbalizers (Nodes X and XI) (see Chap. IX, also Chaps. VI and VIII)

Verbalizers are added to noun roots/stems/themes. Nominalizers are added to verbal roots/stems/themes.

Verbalizers may verbalize to a full verb (these are derivational suffixes with a dual function, plus {$_{v}$-pta-}) or to a defective verb ({$_{v}$-:-} and {$_{n}$-ka-}).

For example:

uta 'house' plus {-ja-} (verbal derivational suffix) is
ut.ja.ña 'to exist', to live someplace'

uta 'house, plus { -:} (nominal verbalizer) is uta.:.ña 'to be a house' (an unlikely form because this **verbalization is ordinarily** personal and people aren't, usually, houses - but entirely possible grammatically).

Nouns which are verbalized by verbal derivational suffixes or { -pta } are free to take any other verbal suffix, while those that are verbalized by { -:- } or {-ka- } suffix may take only Class II derivational suffixes and **fourof** the inflectional persons. Noun roots which are verbalized by verbal derivational suffixes act as verb stems rather than themes.

Verbal suffixes which nominalize are {-ña }, {-ta},{-tata} {-wi}, and {-iri}. $_v${-ta} and $_v${-tata} must be distinguished from the homophonous verbal derivational suffixes $_n${-ta-} and $_v${-tata -}.

All thematic alternators except those making full verbs may repeat, with no known maximum, on any given form, alternating between verb theme and noun theme; thus the Aymara stem is, in possibility, infinite.

1.2 Constructs

The nodes combine in a number of ways to produce larger constructs.

1.21 Root

A root is a form consisting of a single morpheme from one of the four root nodes, e.g.

uta	'house'
sara-	'(to) go'
jina	'let's go'
kawki	'where (?)'

1.22 Stem

A stem is a root plus one or more derivational suffixes of the same class. Thus, there are two basic types of stems, with subclasses there of. The two basic types are noun and verb, e.g.

uta.ni	'house owner'
sara.qa-	'(to) go down'

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1.23 Theme

A theme is a root or stem plus a suffix from one of the two thematic nodes, making said root or stem a member of the other class, e.g.:

warmi.:-	'(to) be a woman'
sar.iri	'goer'

A theme is also a theme plus a suffix changing the class of the form again, e.g.:

warmi.:.ña	'to be a woman'
sar.iri.:.-	'(to) be a goer'

Themation is recursive; the maximum possible number of thematic alternations for a theme has not been determined.

Themes, then, are more flexible than are stems which are limited by suffix order classes and non-recursive restraints, verbs even more so than nouns.

1.24 Verb

A verb, thus stated unmodified, is a verbal root, stem, or theme plus inflection. The inflection closes the form to further derivation or thematization. Only one inflection per form may occur. Thus the inflection characterizes the verb.

1.25 The Word

The word is a free form. Two basic types of word occur: morphological and syntactical.

The morphological word is a free form capable of taking the sentence and/or independent suffixes. Of the constructs discussed so far the following are morphological words: particle root, noun root, noun stem, noun theme, verb, e.g.:

niya	'now'
uta	'house'
uta.ni	'house owner'
warmi.:.ña	'to be a woman
sar.ta	'I went'

1.25 The Word (cont.)

The syntactical word is a free form consisting of a morphological word plus independent and/or sentence suffixes, e.g.:

niya.wa	'now'
uta.wa	'house'
uta.ni.wa	'house owner'
warmi.:.ña.wa	'to be a woman
sar.t.wa	'I went'

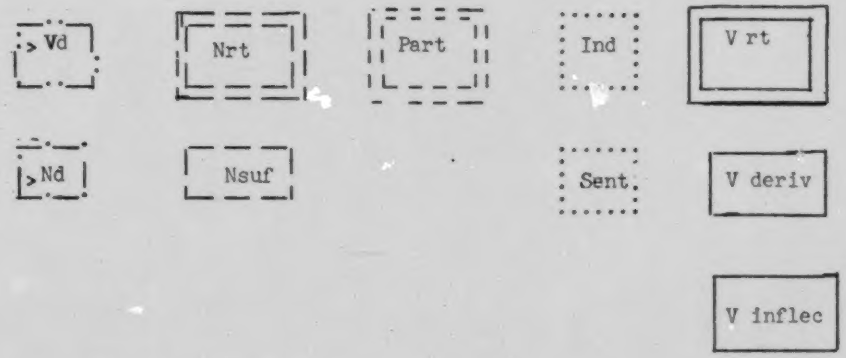
Thus, any word with independent sentence suffixes is also a word without them, at a different level. The normal recitation form for any word is the morphological form; one needs a sentence to feel at ease with a syntactical word. Nevertheless, for a naive native speaker, speaking in non-sentences is nonsense, the usual pattern is for any answer to be cast into a sentence mold, thus making it difficult to get any but syntactical words.

The Aymara word has defied simple two-dimensional diagramming. Charts VA, B, and C show the possibilities for each node, incoming and outgoing.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE AYMARA WORD

The structure of the Aymara word has defied reduction to two dimensions. A multidimension model hangs in the Aymara workroom at the University of Florida. There are ten nodes, or morphological categories, as drawn and defined in chart A. Chart B shows which nodes follow any given node (except sentence node, which closes the word). Chart C shows which nodes may precede any given node (except the three root nodes which open a word).

CHART A
MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORIES



Key to symbols:
Vd--Verbalized
Nd--Normalized
N--Noun
P--Particle
V--Verb
Sent--Sentence
Ind--Independent
rt--root
suf--suffix
inflec--inflection
deriv--derivation

CHART B

NODAL SEQUENCE I

SUCCESSIVE NODES	PRECEDING NODE									
	> Nd	Sent	Ind	Part	N rt	N suf	V rt	V deriv	V Inflec	> Vd
Normalized			X				X	X		X
Sentence	X		X	X	X	X			X	
Independent	X			X	X	X	X	X		X
Particle										
Noun Root										
Noun Suffix	X				X					
Verb Root										
Verb Deriv.							X			X
Verb Inflec.			X				X	X		X
Verbalized	X		X		X	X				

Key to symbols: X--Indicates the nodes (in the rows) that follow their preceding counterparts (in columns). For the rest see Chart A.

CHART C

NODAL SEQUENCE II

PRECEEDING NODE	SUCCESSIVE NODES						
	> Nd	> Vd	Sent	Ind	N suf	V deriv	V inflec
Normalized		X	X	X	X		
Sentence							
Independent	X	X	X				
Particle			X	X			
Noun Root		X	X	X	X		
Noun Suffix		X	X	X			
Verb Root	X			X		X	X
Verb Deriv.	X			X			X
Verb Inflec.			X				
Verbalized	X			X		X	X

Key to symbols: X--Indicates the nodes (in the rows which may precede their counterparts (in columns). For the rest see Chart A.

2 Terms and Abbreviations

Throughout this grammar certain conventions are observed.

For clarity of presentation, morphemes within a word are separated from each other by a period. When cited alone, suffixes which may occur finally are preceded by a hyphen, other suffixes are preceded and followed by a hyphen, and bound roots (verbs and a few substantive allomorphs) are followed by a hyphen. Substantive roots (except for the bound allomorphs) have no hyphens as they are always free.

Morphophonemics are marked as follows: Suffixes requiring a vowel before are marked $_{v}$-...-; those keeping their vowel when followed by other suffixes are marked -...-$_{v}$; suffixes requiring a consonant before are marked $_{n}$-...-; those dropping their vowel when followed by other suffixes are marked -...-$_{n}$.

Persons are indicated as follows: the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, with or without p refer respectively to first (naya), second (juma), third (jupa) and fourth (jiwasa) person. Complex persons (in verb system) are indicated by a number on each side of an arrow: the first number refers to the subject, the second to the -ru complement (or replacement complement in the case of some derivational suffixes). A p may or may not follow, e.g.: 1→2p = first person subject, second person -ru complement.

The complete list is:

1→2p
2→1p
3→3p
3→1p
3→4p
1→3p
4→3p
2→3p
3→2p

The tenses are abbreviated as follows:

S - simple

F - future

I - imperative

R - remote

D - desiderative/remonstrator

IF - inferential

SP - suppositional

ENGLAND

CHAPTER VI

VERBAL DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES*

1. Introduction

The research for this work was done primarily with the aid of two native Aymara speakers who are presently** in the United States while they work on the Aymara Language Materials Project at the University of Florida: Mr. Juan de Dios Yapita Moya and Ms. Juana Vasquez. Mr. Yapita and Ms. Vasquez are research associates on the project and are engaged in preparing bilingual teaching materials for, and teaching courses in Aymara. They are also working with the project director, M. J. Hardman-de-Bautista, in preparing a dictionary and a grammar of Aymara. Mr. Yapita is from Qumpi in Omasuyos province in the department of La Paz, and learned Aymara as his first language from monolingual parents. He learned Spanish in school when he was about eleven and is fluent in it. He also speaks English with moderate fluency and knows some French. Mr. Yapita has advanced degrees as a Certified Public Accountant, as a specialist in linguistics, and is qualified as a high school teacher. He is forty years old. Ms. Vasquez is from La Paz and her family is from Qallamarka-Tiwanaku in the department of La Paz. She learned Aymara and Spanish at the same time, from a grandmother who is monolingual in Aymara and her mother, who is bilingual in Spanish and Aymara. She speaks both fluently. She also knows some Quechua as a result of extensive travel in Bolivia, and is making great progress in learning English. Ms. Vasquez is thirty-three years old.

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*I wish to acknowledge the help of several people in the preparation of this thesis. The work would not have been possible at all without the great help of the two native Aymara speakers, Mr. Juan de Dios Yapita Moya and Ms. Juana Vasquez. Aside from being invaluable to the completion of this paper, they have been especially enjoyable to work with.

I wish to specifically thank Dr. M. J. Hardman-de-Bautista, the chairman of my thesis committee, for her instruction, direction, and encouragement during the preparation of this thesis. She has helped to make the work exciting. Thanks must also be given to Dr. Norman N. Markel for serving on my committee, and to Laura M. Barber for help and collaboration in the initial stages of analysis.

In addition, I wish to acknowledge the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for funding the Aymara Language Materials Project at the University of Florida. Without the grant I would not have met Mr. Yapita and Ms. Vasquez, and it has also supported me for a year as an assistant on the Aymara Language Materials Project. Finally, the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida must be thanked for administering the Project and for providing it and me with facilities for working.

** At the time of this study - 1970-71.

Texts used in this analysis include a number of stories and descriptions told by Mr. Yapita and Ms. Vasquez, ten dialogues prepared by Mr. Yapita and Ms. Vasquez for the Aymara language courses at the University of Florida, and several copies of the Aymara Newsletter which is written by Mr. Yapita and Ms. Vasquez. A taped story by Mr. Gervasio Moya (collected in Bolivia by M. J. Hardman-de-Bautista) was also used. Mr. Moya is from Llamakachi in the Omasuyos province of the department of La Paz. He is approximately 65 years old and is monolingual in Aymara. In addition, three stories told by Ms. Vasquez and transcribed by Ms. Lucy T. Briggs were used for the morpheme frequency count. Ms. Vasquez and Mr. Yapita worked closely with me in analysis of these texts. Research was primarily done in the fall of 1969 and from January to July of 1971.

The principles of linguistic description and the thoretical framework used here are basically outlined in Nida, 1949, and Hockett, 1958.

The alphabet used here is a phonemic alphabet developed by Mr. Juan de Dios Yapita, and is reproduced below. The only change made for the purposes of this study is that Mr. Yapita indicates vowel length by an umlaut, and I will use a colon immediately following the vowel. The change was made for ease in indicating morpheme boundaries. A digraph, /ch/, is used for the affricate series; /C'/ indicates glottalization; /C"/ indicates aspiration.

p	t	ch	k	q	
p'	t'	ch'	k'	q'	
p"	t"	ch"	k"	q"	
	s			x	j
m	n	ñ			
	l	ll			
w	r	y			
	i		u		
		a			
		:			

Figure 1. Phonemic Alphabet of Aymara

Aymara words are underlined, and periods indicate morpheme boundaries.

2. Verbal Derivational Suffixes - Structural Analysis

Verbal derivational suffixes in Aymara are defined structurally by order class: they occur directly after the verb root or theme and before the independent suffixes. Thirty-two verbal derivational suffixes have been discovered. They occur in a definite order and may be divided into two sets: Set I, those that act on the root or theme (the action), and Set II, those that act on the inflection (the persons). Set I verbal derivational suffixes precede Set II verbal derivational suffixes, and those suffixes which occur in the order classes nearest the division share characteristics of both classes (see Figure 2 for morpheme order and sets).

There are structural grounds as well as semantic grounds for the division of the verbal derivational suffixes into two sets. Of the twenty-one suffixes which precede {-ya-}, ten of them have been found to verbalize noun roots. They only verbalize noun roots, and the resulting construction acts like a verb stem. This is in contrast to nouns verbalized by the nominal verbalizers which may verbalize noun stems and which result in verb themes. {-ya-} also verbalizes, but the suffixes following {-ya-} never do. The suffixes which follow {-ya-} can occur on virtually every verb root and meaning is quite predictable; in this way they begin to resemble inflectional suffixes. The suffixes which precede {-t'a-} are fairly unpredictable in meaning and have limited distribution, which is typical of derivational suffixes. The only suffixes which change the usual {-ru} complement to some other type of complement occur after {-ya-}; all the preceding suffixes have no effect on the {-ru} complement, but may on the zero complement. The {-ru} complement is directly tied to the inflection of the verb, since the complement is the substantive expression of the object of the verb which is contained in the inflection. Those suffixes which affect complements are also acting on the verb inflection, since the complement is carried in the inflection and is only redundantly marked in the nouns. The group of suffixes that follows {-ya-} includes some that semantically are clearly acting on the inflection alone. These are the reflexive {-si-$_1$}, the beneficiary {-rapi-}, the victimary {-raqa-}, and the plural {-p-}, which pluralizes either subject or object or both. Plurality of action is marked by Set I suffixes.

The characteristics outlined above clearly define the two sets of verbal derivational suffixes as one set which acts on the root or theme or stem of the verb and another set which acts on the inflection of the verb. The division of the two classes occurs between {-t'a-} and {-ya-}. These two suffixes exhibit transition characteristics: they both occur on most but not all roots, they have fairly predictable meanings, and both verbalize. Although {-ya-} can verbalize limitedly, it affects the complements and semantically seems to act on the inflection, so it properly belongs in Set II. Although {-t'a-} is quite predictable in meaning and occurs on almost all roots, it does not affect the complement structure and semantically seems to act on the root, so it belongs in Set I. Set I suffixes do not combine with ease; Set II suffixes do. Order class is therefore neater for Set II than for Set I.

2.1 Frozen Suffixes

There are several suffixes in Aymara which occur in the slot for verbal derivational suffixes, but which are totally non-productive and cannot be separated from the one or two roots on which they occur.

2.11 {-ki-}

This suffix has been found on one unattested root. The root regularly takes other verbal derivational suffixes, and has been reconstructed from such occurrences, but the recitation form is not acceptable alone. {-ki-} does not necessarily occur when the other derivational suffixes occur, so it is not part of the root.

*ana.ña 'to shoo animals' plus {-ki-} is ana.ki.ña 'to herd animals.'
An example of *ana.ña with another suffix is ana.nuku.ña 'to herd away.'

2.12 {-li-} and {-nki-}

These two suffixes are found on one root. They are rather closely related in meaning.

ayti.ña 'to wash with a swirling motion' plus {-li-} is ayti.li.ña 'to sway, like a bridge, or to nod the head jerkily.'

ayti.ña plus {-nki-} is ayti.nki.ña 'to sway up and down and around in the air, like a pollera (an Andean fiesta skirt), or a top at the end of its spin.'

{-li-} seems to indicate up and down motion in the air, while {-nki-} indicates up and down and circular motion on the ground.

2.13 {-pa-}

This suffix appears on two roots, but has different morphophonemics.

ira.ña 'to carry a small object with the fingers' plus {-pa-} is *ir.pa.ña* 'to lead someone.'

ira.ña plus {-ta-} is *ir.ta.ña* 'to pick up.'

yana.ña 'to try' plus {-pa-} is *yana.pa.ña* 'to help.'

2.14 {-xa-$_1$}

This suffix appears on two roots.

pirqa.ña 'to build a wall' plus {-xa-$_1$} is *pirq.xa.ña* 'to divide a wall.'

pirqa.ña plus {-su-} is *pirq.su.ña* ' to finish building.'

tuqu.ña 'to scold' plus {-xa-$_1$} is *tuq.xa.ña* 'to scold someone.'

2.2 Set I Suffixes

These are the suffixes that act on the root rather than the inflection of the verb. They modify the meaning of the root. There are twenty-one suffixes in this set, and they will be discussed in order of order class (see Figure 2).

2.21 {-cha-} causative. This suffix is one of two causatives, and acts on the root. It verbalizes rather frequently, and occurs more commonly on noun roots than on verb roots. When {-cha-} verbalizes it is as a causative. {-cha-} requires a preceding vowel.

{-cha-} on noun roots:

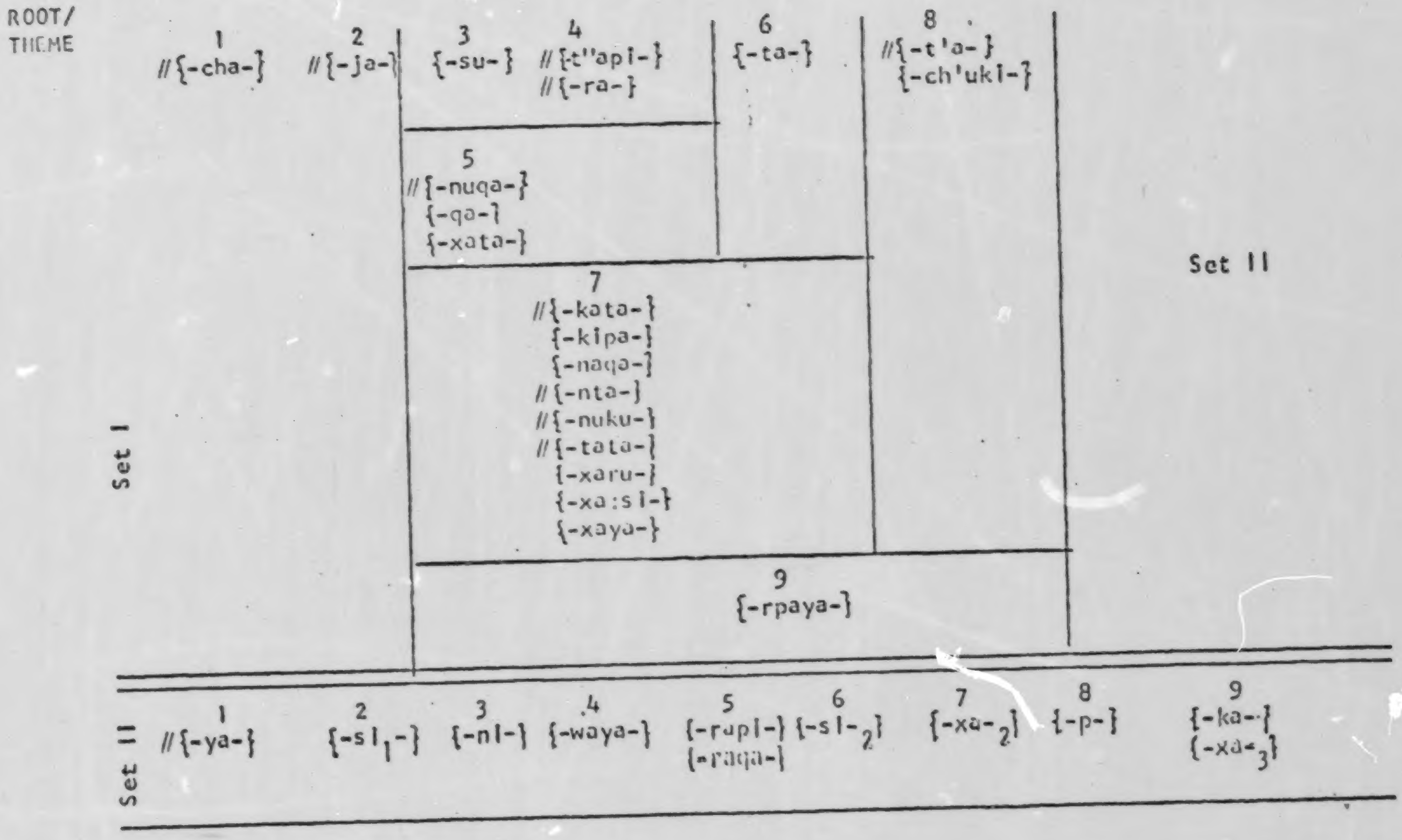
uta 'house' plus {-cha-} is *uta.cha.ña* 'to build a house.'

wawa 'baby' plus {-cha-} is *wawa.cha.ña* 'to have offspring' (animals).

suti 'name' plus {-cha-} is *suti.cha.ña* 'to nickname, call names'.

{-cha-} on verb roots:

yati.ña 'to know' plus {-cha-} is *yati.cha.ña* 'to teach' (cause knowing).


ROOT/
THEME
1
//{-cha-}
2
//{-ja-}
3
{-su-}
4
//{-t''api-}
//{-ra-}
6
{-ta-}
8
//{-t'a-}
{-ch'uki-}
5
//{-nuqa-}
{-qa-}
{-xata-}
7
//{-kata-}
{-kipa-}
{-naqa-}
//{-nta-}
//{-nuku-}
//{-tata-}
{-xaru-}
{-xa:si-}
{-xaya-}
9
{-rpaya-}
Set I
Set II
Set II
1
//{-ya-}
2
{-si$_1$-}
3
{-ni-}
4
{-waya-}
5
{-rupi-}
{-raqa-}
6
{-si-$_2$}
7
{-xa-$_2$}
8
{-p-}
9
{-ka-}
{-xa-$_3$}

//Suffixes which can verbalize noun roots.

Figure 2. Order Classes of Aymara Verbal Derivational Suffixes

2.22 {-ja-} 'divider.' This suffix verbalizes noun roots more frequently than any other derivational suffix. When {-ja-} verbalizes it does not perform any other function. The relatively high position of {-ja-} on the frequency chart (Appendix C) is because of the frequency of *ut.ja.ña* 'to exist.' The most common function of {-ja-} other than to verbalize is to divide the action or to divide through the action of the verb. There is a large class of verbs which with the addition of {-ja-} are translated 'to divide or separate (different kinds of objects).' Other functions of {-ja-} are not predictable. {-ja-} requires a preceding consonant.

{-ja-} on noun roots:

uta 'house' plus {-ja-} is *ut.ja.ña* 'to exist, to live someplace.'

t''aya 'cold' plus {-ja-} is *t''ay.ja.ña* 'to be cold' (persons, animals).

junt'u 'hot' plus {-ja-} is *junt'.ja.ña* 'to be hot' (persons, animals).

{-ja-} on verb roots, dividing through the action:

k''uch''u.ña 'to cut' plus {-ja-} is *k''uch''.ja.ña* 'to divide with a blade.'

chinu.ña 'to tie' plus {-ja-} is *chin.ja.ña* 'to divide and tie up.'

jak''u.ña 'to count' plus {-ja-} is *jak''ja.ña* 'to divide in equal groups' (by counting).

{-ja-} on verb roots, dividing the action:

apa.ña 'to carry' plus {-ja-} is *ap.ja.ña* 'to help to carry.'

saya.ña 'to stand' plus {-ja-} is *say.ja.ña* 'to stand on one foot.'

{-ja-} as a divider through metaphorical extension:

liwa.ña 'to feed (animals)' plus {-ja-} is *liw.ja.ña* 'to serve food' (separate from the whole).

ala.ña 'to buy' plus {-ja-} is *al.ja.ña* 'to sell' (the part sold is separated from the whole).

{-ja-} with less predictable meaning:

nuwa.ña 'to slap' plus {-ja-} is nuw.ja.ña 'to punch.'

usu.ña 'to be sick, to hurt' plus {-ja-} is us.ja.ña 'to be sick after drinking too much.'

wiru.ña 'to float' plus {-ja-} is wir.ja.ña 'to circle in the air like buzzards.'

2.23 {-su-} 'out,' completive. This suffix has not appeared as a verbalizer. It usually functions as a completive or indicates action out of something. If the action outward must terminate in upward or downward action, {-su-} indicates upward rather than downward motion. Otherwise neither of these is indicated. {-su-} requires a preceding consonant.

{-su-} as a completive:

ala.ña 'to buy' plus {-su-} is al.su.ña 'to buy a lot.'

jila.ña 'to grow' plus {-su-} is jil.su.ña 'to grow up' (finish growing).

uña.ña 'to see' plus {-su-} is uñ.su.ña 'to look at all over.'

{-su-}as outward motion:

apa.ña 'carry' plus {-su-} is ap.su.ña 'take out.'

p"usa.ña 'to blow' plus {-su-} is p"us.su.ña 'take out the word, pronounce.

jaqu.ña 'throw' plus {-su-} is jaq.su.ña 'throw out and up.'

Other uses of {-su-}:

jacha.ña 'to cry' plus {-su-} is jach.su.ña 'to cry suddenly.'

t"uqu.ña 'to dance' plus {-su-} is t"uq.su.ña 'to jump up.'

2.24 {-ra-}, serial action; and {-t"api-} gathering action.

2.24.1 {-ra-} serial action. This suffix can verbalize. Its most frequent and predictable meaning is singular repetition, or serial action, often translated one-by-one. Another function is that of reversing the action. {-ra-} requires a preceding vowel.

{-ra-} on noun roots:

junt'u 'hot' plus {-ra-} is *junt'u.ra.ña* 'to be hot after being cold.'

{-ra-} on verb roots, serial action:

chinu.ña 'to tie' plus {-ra-} is *chinu.ra.ña* 'to tie one-by-one.'

pisa.ña 'to weigh' plus {-ra-} is *pisa.ra.ña* 'to weigh one at a time.'

mistu.ña 'to come out' plus {-ra-} is *mistu.ra.ña* 'to come out one-by-one.'

{-ra-} on verb roots, reversal:

apa.ña 'to carry' plus {-ra-} is *apa.ra.ña* 'to grab.'

sama.ña 'to breathe' plus {-ra-} is *sama.ra.ña* 'to rest' (stop breathing).

ana.ña 'to shoo (animals)' plus {-ra-} is *ana.ra.ña* 'to impound herd animals.'

Other uses of {-ra-}:

parla.ña 'to speak' plus {-ra-} is *parla.ra.ña* 'to talk louder at another time' (several persons).

nak''a.ña 'to burn' plus {-ra-} is *nak''a.ra.ña* 'to burn on the surface but not inside.'

jacha.ña 'to cry' plus {-ra-} is *jacha.ra.ña* 'to cry loudly' (several persons).

2.24.2 {-t''api-} gatherer. This suffix can verbalize. It usually means gathering by the action. It requires a preceding consonant.

{-t''api-} on noun roots:

uta 'house' plus {-t''api-} is *ut.t''api.ña* 'to sit very close' (be close together).

{-t"api-} on verb roots, gathering:

apa.ña 'carry' plus {-t"api-} is ap.t"api.ña 'to gather.'

lluxi.ña to carry a straw-like substance' plus {-t"api-} is llux.t"api.ña 'to gather straw-like substance.'

chinu.ña 'to tie' plus {-t"api-} is chin.t"api.ña 'to tie two things together.'

Other uses of {-t"api-}:

sara.ña 'to go' plus {-t"api-} is sar.t"api.ña 'to get up.'

2.25 {-nuqa-} 'placer'; {-qa-} 'down'; {-xata-} 'on top of'

These three suffixes are known to precede {-ta-}, and {-qa-} has been found after {-ja-}. It has not been possible to establish order class any more definitely, because they have not been found in combination with any other suffixes that precede {-ta-}. They may be in the same order class with each other.

2.25.1 {-nuqa-} 'placer.' This suffix can verbalize. It is usually found with carry verbs and other object transporting verbs, and changes the action from dynamic action to static action. Instead of being transported, the object is placed. {-nuqa-} requires a preceding consonant.

{-nuqa-} with noun roots:

uta 'house' plus {-nuqa-} is ut.nuqa.ña 'sit down' (be down).

{-nuqa-} with verb roots:

apa.ña 'carry' plus {-nuqa-} is ap.nuqa.ña 'to put down.'

jaqu.ña 'to throw' plus {-nuqa-} is jaq.nuqa.ña 'to put down with force.'

2.25.2 {-qa-} 'down.' This suffix does not verbalize. It occurs most frequently on sara.ña 'to go,' and indicates downward motion. This is the most frequent meaning of {-qa-}, but not its only one. {-qa-} requires a preceding vowel.

{-qa-} as downward motion:

sara.ña 'to go' plus {-qa-} is sara.qa.ña 'to go down.'

p"usa.ña 'to blow' plus {-qa-} is p"usa.qa.ña 'to blow down or off.'

apa.ña 'carry' plus {-qa-} is apa.qa.ña 'to take down.'

Other uses of {-qa-}:[1]

iki.ña 'to sleep' plus {-qa-} is iki.qa.ña 'to sleep somewhere else.'

lluji.ña 'to spread out a granular substance' plus {-qa-} is lluji.qa.ña 'to separate a lot off one side.'

tuyu.ña 'to swim' plus {-qa-} is tuyu.qa.ña 'to swim far little by little.'

yati.ña 'to know' plus {-qa-} is yati.qa.ña 'to learn.'

2.25.3 {-xata-} 'on top of.' This suffix does not verbalize. It indicates action on top of. This is not only a locational, since it also involves motion upward and the suffix is mutually exclusive with {-qa-}, action downward. {-xata-} requires a preceding consonant.

apa.ña 'to carry' plus {-xata-} is ap.xata.ña 'to put something on top of.'

sara.ña 'to go' plus {-xata-} is sar.xata.ña 'to go up on top of.'

ati.ña 'to cover' plus {-xata-} is at.xata.ña 'to put something on top of' (to cover).

2.26 {-ta-} upward motion, inceptive. This suffix does not verbalize. In carry verbs and a number of others, {-ta-} signifies upward motion.

It also functions as an inceptive, without direction involved. In eliciting the recitation forms, various roots seem to stimulate either the upward or the inceptive meanings of {-ta-}, but in context it appears that some roots can take either meaning. ap.ta.ña usually means 'pick up,' but in jich"ax wawanak ap.ta.ni.m 'now bring the children,' {-ta-} is inceptive. {-ta-} requires a preceding consonant.

{-ta-} as upward motion:

apa.ña 'carry' plus {-ta-} is ap.ta.ña 'pick up.'

sara.ña 'to go' plus {-ta-} is sar.ta.ña 'stand up, get up.'

alli.ña 'to dig' plus {-ta-} is all.ta.ña 'dig up.'

{-ta-} as inceptive:

aywi.ña 'to go in a herd' plus {-ta-} is ayw.ta.ña 'to start to go together, e.g. to attack.'

arka.ña 'to follow' plus {-ta-} is ark.ta.ña 'to follow after a little while.'

*ana.ña 'to shoo' plus {-ta-} is an.ta.ña 'make the animals move' (begin shooing).

Other use of {-ta-}:

ala.ña 'to buy' plus {-ta-} is al.ta.ña 'to buy a lot of things, not for profit, but for personal use. A waste of money may be involved.'

2.27 {-kata-}, {-kipa-}, {-naqa-}, {-nta-}, {-nuku-}, {-ɬata-}, {-xaru-}, {-xa:si-}, {-xaya-}.

These suffixes precede {-t'a-} in order class. {-nuku-} has been found after {-ja-}. Otherwise they cannot be placed more definitely with regard to the other suffixes which precede {-t'a-}. They may be in the same order class.

2.27.1 {-kata-} action across. This suffix can verbalize. It generally signifies action across, closing a gap, and frequently involves action in an upward direction. With the carry and motion verbs the action rises; with other verbs it may only pass across (bridge a gap). {-kata-} requires a preceding consonant.

{-kata-} on noun roots:

junt'u 'hot' plus {-kata-} is junt'.kata.ña 'to make hot in small area.'

{-kata-} on verb roots, motion verbs:

apa.ña 'carry' plus {-kata-} is ap.kata.ña 'pick up and put down higher.'

aywi.ña 'to go in a herd' plus {-kata-} is ayw.kata.ña 'to go up a hill in a group.'

*ana.ña 'to shoo' plus {-kata-} is an.kata.ña 'to drive herd animals up a hill.'

{-kata-} on verb roots, other verbs:

uña.ña 'to see' plus {-kata-} is uñ.kata.ña 'look at directly.' (pass a glance across and get it back).

qunu.ña 'to sit' plus {-kata-} is qun.kata.ña 'sit close to someone.'

jak''u.ña 'to count' plus {-kata-} is jak''.kata.ña 'to count money to a cashier' (money passes from hand to hand).'

Other uses of {-kata-}:

al.ja.ña 'to sell' plus {-kata-} is al.j.kata.ña 'to sell everything.'

awisa.ña 'to inform' plus {-kata-} is awis.kata.ña 'to inform everything.'

chura.ña 'to give' plus {-kata-} is chur.kata.ña 'to give something when the seller can't sell it.'

2.27.2 {-kipa-} motion passing by or around a corner. This suffix does not verbalize. It was very easy for the Aymara speakers to peel off this suffix and define it. It requires a preceding vowel.

apa.ña 'carry' plus {-kipa-} is *apa.kipa.ña* 'to pass something to other side.'

uña.ña 'to see' plus {-kipa-} is *uña.kipa.ña* 'to observe, check' (pass a glance by).

pisa.ña 'to weigh' plus {-kipa-} is *pisa.kipa.ña* 'to weigh out too much' (pass the right weight).

parla.ña 'to speak' plus {-kipa-} is *parla.kipa.ña* 'to communicate' (pass news from one to another).

2.27.3 {-naqa-} diffuse action. This suffix does not verbalize. It indicates general, diffuse, non-purposive action, and usually only occurs with motion and carry verbs, although there are some exceptions. {-naqa-} requires a preceding consonant.

sara.ña 'to go' plus {-naqa-} is *sar.naqa.ña* 'to walk around.'

apa.ña 'to carry' plus {-naqa-} is *ap.naqa.ña* 'to handle.'

uña.ña 'to see' plus {-naqa-} is *uñ.naqa.ña* 'to have eyes open all around.'

2.27.4 {-nta-} inward motion, inceptive. This suffix can verbalize. On carry and motion verbs {-nta-} indicates inward motion and on other verbs it acts as an inceptive. {-nta-} requires a preceding vowel.

{-nta-} on noun roots:

junt'u 'hot' plus {-nta-} is *junt'u.nta.ña* 'begin to get hot.'

{-nta-} on verb roots, motion verbs:

apa.ña 'carry' plus {-nta-} is *apa.nta.ña* 'to put in.'

**ana.ña* 'to shoo' plus {-nta-} is *ana.nta.ña* 'to shoo in.'

p''usa.ña 'to blow' plus {-nta-} is *p''usa.nta.ña* 'to blow in.'

{-nta-} on verb roots, other verbs:

parla.ña 'to speak' plus {-nta-} is *parla.nta.ña* 'to start to speak.'

tuyu.ña 'to swim' plus {-nta-} is *tuyu.nta.ña* 'go down into the water little by little.'

jacha.ña 'to cry' plus {-nta-} is *jacha.nta.ña* 'start to cry without tears, not suddenly.'

2.27.5 {-nuku-} action away. This suffix can verbalize. It indicates action away from the subject, without any particular direction. Occasionally the action is away from the intention of the actor. {-nuku-} requires a preceding vowel.

{-nuku-} on noun roots:

inku 'carrying cloth' plus {-nuku-} is *inku.nuku.ña* 'pass to someone.'

{-nuku-} on verb roots:

apa.ña 'to carry' plus {-nuku-} is *apa.nuku.ña* 'throw away.'

sara.ña 'to go' plus {-nuku-} is *sara.nuku.ña* 'to get lost' (go away without direction).

t''uqu.ña 'to dance' plus {-nuku-} is *t''uqu.nuku.ña* 'to jump away in the wrong direction.'

2.27.6 {-tata-} scatterer. This suffix can verbalize, and means spread out or scatter. It requires a preceding vowel.

{-tata-} on noun roots:

junt'u 'hot' plus {-tata-} is *junt'u.tata.ña* 'to spread out the heat.'

{-tata-} on verb roots:

apa.ña 'carry' plus {-tata-} is *apa.tata.ña* 'to spread out.'

p''alla.ña 'to burst' plus {-tata-} is *p''all.tata.ña* 'to burst and scatter.'

aywi.ña 'to go in a herd' plus {-tata-} is *aywi.tata.ña* 'to go spread out in different directions.'

2.27.7 {-xaru-} preparative. This suffix cannot verbalize. It indicates preparing for the action, and can only be found on a small class of carry and motion verbs. It requires a preceding consonant.

apa.ña 'carry' plus {-xaru-} is *ap.xaru.ña* 'get ready to take.'

sara.ña 'to go' plus {-xaru-} is *sar.xaru.ña* 'get ready to go.'

2.27.8 {-xa:si-} 'static.' This suffix does not verbalize. It is used with carry verbs and indicates that the object is being held rather than carried. It requires a preceding consonant.

apa.ña 'to carry' plus {-xa:si-} is *ap.xa:si.ña* 'to hold in hands.'

ichu.ña 'to carry with two hands, e.g., a baby' plus {-xa:si-} is *ich.xa:si.ña* 'to hold [a baby] in the hands.'

q'ipi.ña 'to carry on the back' plus {-xa:si-} is *q'ip.xa:si.ña* 'to hold on the back.'

2.27.9 {-xaya-} attention. This suffix does not verbalize, and only appears on a small number of roots. It is quite difficult to translate, but seems to mean that the person who is acting is with another person, and his attention is directed at that person through the action of the verb. {-xaya-} has only appeared on the roots *qunu.ña* 'to sit,' *saya.ña* 'to stand,' *p"aya.ña* 'to cook,' *parla.ña* 'to talk,' *laru.ña* 'to laugh,' *jacha.ña* 'to cry,' and *anata.ña* 'to play.' It requires a preceding consonant.

qunu.ña 'to sit' plus {-xaya-} is *qun.xaya.ña* 'to sit with someone.'

p"aya.ña 'to cook' plus {-xaya-} is *p"ay.xaya.ña* 'to cook for someone.'

parla.ña 'to talk' plus {-xaya-} is *parl.xaya.ña* 'to talk to someone' (attention focused on that person).

anata.ña 'to play' plus {-xaya-} is *anat.xaya.ña* 'to interrupt or annoy someone by playing, to tease'.

2.28 {-t'a-} , {-ch'uki-} . These suffixes are in the same order class. {-t'a-} combines easily with other suffixes; {-ch'uki-} does not.

2.28.1 {-t'a-} momentaneous. This suffix can verbalize. It is the most common of the Class I suffixes, can go on almost any root, and almost always signifies momentaneous, single, or short action. Depending on the root, the length of time may not actually be very short, but it is shorter than the usual meaning of the root. {-t'a-} requires a preceding consonant.

{-t'a-} on noun roots:

wawa 'baby' plus {-t'a-} is *waw.t'a.ña* 'to whimper (from sibling jealousy).'

{-t'a-} on verb roots:

parla.ña 'to speak' plus {-t'a-} is *parl.t'a.ña* 'talk with someone for a few minutes.'

sara.ña 'to go' plus {-t'a-} is *sar.t'a.ña* 'to visit (go briefly).'

Other uses of {-t'a-}:

apa.ña 'carry' plus {-t'a-} is *ap.t'a.ña* 'to give responsibility to someone else.'

2.28.2 {-ch'uki-}. This suffix does not verbalize. It indicates purposive action directly at someone, frequently reciprocal. It usually occurs on verbs where the complement can be a person. It requires a preceding consonant.

ira.ña 'to carry' plus {-ch'uki-} is ir.ch'uki.ña 'two children throw small things at each other.'

p''usa.ña 'to blow' plus {-ch'uki-} is p''us.ch'uki.ña 'to blow at someone' (reciprocal).

uña.ña 'to see' plus {-ch'uki-} is uñ.ch'uki.ña 'to look at.'

2.29 {-rpaya-} This suffix does not verbalize, and almost never combines with any other suffixes in Class I. It seems to be rather closely connected to {-ra-} in meaning, but cannot be split into components. It generally signifies multiple, but not serial, action. As with {-ra-} another apparent function is reversal of the action. {-rpaya-} requires a preceding vowel.

{-rpaya-} as multiple action:

arku.ña 'to pile' plus {-rpaya-} is arku.rpaya.ña 'to make several piles

k''uch''u.ña 'to cut' plus {-rpaya-} is k''uch''u.rpaya.ña 'to cut from different pieces.'

chinu.ña 'to tie' plus {-rpaya-} is chinu.rpaya.ña 'to tie several things separately.'

jala.ña 'to run' plus {-rpaya-} is jala.rpaya.ña 'to run out (like tear

-rpaya- as reversal:

apa.ña 'to carry' plus {-rpaya-} is apa.rpaya.ña 'to leave behind.'

*ana.ña 'to shoo' plus {-rpaya-} is ana.rpaya.ña 'to leave animals.'

2.3 Set II Suffixes

These are the suffixes which act on the inflection of the verb. None except {-ya-} can verbalize, they all can go on almost any root, stem, or theme, and several of them affect the complements. There are eleven suffixes in this class.

2.31 {-ya-} person causative. This suffix can verbalize, but only rarely. Even when it verbalizes a noun root, it acts on the persons involved in the resulting verb. It means to cause *someone* to do something. {-ya-} can reduplicate, and then means 'to cause someone to cause someone to do something.' It is the only verbal derivational suffix that can be used twice on the same root. {-ya-} can take a regular {-ru} complement, but it can also take an {-mpi} complement for the new actor. The {-mpi} complement is used when it is necessary or desirable to show respect to the person who is the new actor object, or if the verb already has a {-ru} complement which is not the new actor. {-ya-} requires a preceding vowel.

{-ya-} on noun roots:

suti 'name' plus {-ya-} is *suti.ya.ña* 'to baptize' (cause the person to be named).

{-ya-} on verb roots:

apa.ña 'to carry' plus {-ya-} is *apa.ya.ña* 'to send' (cause someone to carry).

yati.ña 'to know' plus {-ya-} is *yati.ya.ña* 'to inform' (cause someone to know).

jiwa.ña 'to die' plus {-ya-} is *jiwa.ya.ña* 'to kill' (cause someone to die).

ima.ña 'to keep' plus {-ya-} is *ima.ya.ña* 'to bury' (cause something to kee

{-ya-} reduplicated:

suti.ya.ya.ña 'cause [the godfather] to baptize.'

yati.ya.ya.ña 'cause someone to inform.'

{-ya-} with an {-mpi} complement when the verb has another {-ru} complement:

Nayaw jupar t'ant'chur.ta 'I give him the bread.'

Nayaw jupar jupamp t'ant' chura.y.ta 'I make him (A) give him (B) the bread.'

2.32 {-si-$_1$} reflexive. The reflexive in Aymara refers ahead to the persons involved in the inflection. It may mean reciprocal action between two persons or action on the actor or on the behalf of the actor and for the complements. It cannot occur with the beneficiary {-rapi-} or the victim {-raqa-}, although it has a different order class. The effect of {-si-$_1$} on the complements is complex, and seems to be heavily dependent on the individual verbs. It is beyond the scope of this study to explain the relationship of {-si-$_1$}, the verb, and the complements.

{-si-$_1$} requires a preceding vowel.

apa.ña 'to carry' plus {-si-$_1$} is apa.si.ña 'to carry (by oneself).'

parla.ña 'to speak' plus {-si-$_1$} is parla.si.ña 'to speak (oneself).'

2.33 {-ni-} nearator. This suffix indicates that the persons involved in the verb are nearby or are coming near, or the intent of the actor is toward here. It is used very frequently in Aymara; it is important to indicate the location of the persons. {-ni-} requires a preceding vowel.

apa.ña 'carry' plus {-ni-} is apa.ni.ña 'to carry when one is near or coming near.'

Jich''ax wawanak ap.ta.ni.m 'Now bring the children.'

2.34 {-waya-} distancer. This suffix indicates that the persons involved in the action are far away, or are moving away. {-waya-} and {-ni-} are not mutually exclusive; they frequently occur together (see 3.5). {-waya-} is often reduced to /-wa-/. It requires a preceding vowel.

sar.ta.ña 'to go' plus {-waya-} is *sar.ta.waya.ña* 'to get up and go away.'

parl.t'a.ña 'to tell (briefly)' plus {-waya-} is *parl.t'a.waya.ña* 'to tell at some other place.'

2.35 {-rapi-}, {-raqa-}. These suffixes are in the same order class and are mutually exclusive.

2.35.1 {-rapi-} beneficiary. This suffix adds another person to the inflection: the beneficiary, or person for whom the action is being performed. The noun which is the beneficiary takes a {-taki} complement rather than a {-ru} complement, and the persons indicated by the inflection are the subject of the {-taki} complement. The {-ru} complement may still be indicated by the nouns in the sentence, but will no longer be indicated by the inflection. The inflection will agree with the person of the {-taki} complement rather than the {-ru} complement. {-rapi-} requires a preceding vowel.

Nayaw jupar t'ant' chur.ta "I gave him the bread.'

Nayaw jupatak t'ant' chura.rap.ta "I gave the bread for him.'

Nayaw jupar jupatak t'ant' chura.rap.ta "I gave him (A) the bread for him (B).'

2.35.2 {-raqa-} victimary. This suffix indicates that there is a complement which is a possession of a "victim." The subject of the verb does something to the possession of someone else, against that person's will. Instead of a {-ru} complement, the complement is a possessive noun phrase. In its complete form, the possessive phrase consists of the possessor plus {-na} and the possessed plus one of the personal suffixes of possession. Either the possessor or the possessed may be omitted from the phrase. If the possessor is omitted, the zero complement (the possessed) remains intact. If the possessed is omitted, the possessor adds a verbalizer {-ka-} and a nominalizer {-i i} to become a noun phrase marked by {-nkiri}. {-raqa-} cannot take a {-ru} complement and the possessor is the complement marked in the inflection. {-raqa} requires a preceding vowel.

apa.ña 'to carry' plus {-raqa-} is apa.raqa.ña 'to take something that isn't the subject's (against the owner's will).'

Nayax juman wawam sar.ta.ya.raq.sma "I woke up your baby (you didn't want me to)' (possessor plus possessed noun phrase).

Nayax wawam sar.ta.ya.raq.sma 'I woke up your baby' (possessed alone);

Nayax jumankir sar.ta.ya.raq.sma 'I woke up yours' (possessor as a noun phrase with {-nkiri}).

All of the parts of the noun phrase obligatorily drop the final vowel and are zero complements.

2.36 {-si-$_2$} continuative. This indicates continuing action, and is always found with {-ka-} 'ahead.' This helps to distinguish it from the {si-$_1$} reflexive. It cannot occur with {-xa-$_2$} completive or {-xa-$_3$} complete plural. {-si-$_2$} continuative requires a preceding vowel.

sara.qa.ña 'to go down' plus {-si-$_2$} and {-ka-} is sara.qa.s.ka.ña 'to be going down.'

apa.ña 'carry' plus {-si-$_2$} and {-ka-} is *apa.s.ka.ña* 'to be taking.'

parla.p.ka.ña 'to speak ahead (plural)' plus {-si-$_2$} is *parla.si.p.ka.ña* 'to be speaking ahead (plural).'

2.37 {-xa-$_2$} completive. This indicates an action which someone has completed, or has completed initiation of, and cannot occur with {-si-$_2$} continuative or {-ka-} 'ahead.' It requires a preceding consonant.

apa.ra.ña 'to grab' plus {-xa-$_2$} is *apa.r.xa.ña* 'to confiscate' (grab completely).

chura.ña 'to give' plus {-xa-$_2$} is *chur.xa.ña* 'to give back.'

sara.ña 'to go' plus {-xa-$_2$} is *sar.xa.ña* 'to go away, back, home.'

lura.ña 'to do' plus {-xa-$_2$} is *lur.xa.ña* 'to do already.'

2.38 {-p-} plural. This suffix is bound to {-ka-} or {-xa-$_3$}. Plural is optional in Aymara, and is usually only used for emphasis. It is frequently accompanied by the nominal optional plural {-naka}, but this is not necessary. The plural may refer to either the subject, the complement, or both, with the exception that third person plural complements do not usually take {-p-} unless the subject is plural also. This may be change from a former system in which all plural complements could take {-p-}. {-p-} takes {-ka-} when the action is continuing, and {-xa-} when it is complete. It requires a preceding vowel.

Jupanakaw nayar parla.p.x.itu 'They speak to me.'

Jupaw nanakar parla.p.x.itu 'He speaks to us.'

Jupanakaw nanakar parla.p.x.itu 'They speak to us.'

parla.p.xa.ña 'to speak already (plural).'

parla.p.ka.ña 'to be speaking ahead (plural).'

2.39 {-xa-$_3$} (plural completive), {-ka-}. These suffixes are in the same order class and are mutually exclusive.

2.39.1 {-xa-}'plural'completive. This suffix has no other function than to occur with the plural morpheme {-p-} in verbs that are not continuative. It cannot occur with {-si-} continuative, and must occur in plural constructions if the {-xa-} completive is used. {-xa-} follows a suffix with no discoverable vowel.

parla.ña 'to speak' plus plural completive is parla.p.xa.ña 'to speak (plural).'

2.39.2 {-ka-} 'ahead.' This suffix indicates precedence and is quite important in Aymara. It typically appears in a number of distinctive combinations with other suffixes. Alone, it is usually translated 'ahead' and indicates that the person is doing something before someone else does. This is not a completive. {-ka-} also must accompany {-si-} continuative. It regularly occurs with the negative sentence suffix {-ti}, although it is not itself a negative and does not always have to accompany {-ti}. Finally it occurs with the plural {-p-} in situations where the action is continuing. It requires a preceding consonant.

{-ka-} alone:

sara.ña 'to go' plus {-ka-} is sar.ka.ña 'to go ahead.'

{-ka-} with {-si-} continuative:

sara.ña 'to go' plus {-si-} and {-ka-} is sara.s.ka.ña 'to be going.'

{-ka-} with the negative:

Janiw sar.k.i.ti 'he did not go.'

{-ka-} with the plural:

sara.p.ka.ña 'to be going ahead.'

2.4 Morphophonemic Summary

All morphemes with only one exception (see 2.38) end in vowels. These vowels are retained or dropped according to the surrounding morphological environment. Most morphophonemic alternation is through regressive influence, but there is some progressive influence. Since none of the verbal derivational suffixes exhibit progressive influence, it will not be considered here.

Each suffix in Aymara which shows regressive morphophonemic influence causes the final vowel of the preceding morpheme to be retained or dropped.

Column one lists those verbal derivational suffixes which require a preceding vowel; column two lists those which require a preceding consonant. The listing is alphabetic.

+preceding vowel	+preceding consonant
{-cha-}	{-ch'uki-}
{-kipa-}	{-ja-}
{-ni-}	{-ka-}
{-nta-}	{-kata-}
{-nuku-}	{-naqa-}
{-p-}	{-nuqa-}
{-qa-}	{-su-}

{-ra-}

{-rapi-}

{-raqa-}

{-rpaya-}

{-si-$_{1}$} (reflexive)

{-si-$_{2}$} (continuative)

{-tata-}

{-waya-}

{-ya-}

{-ta-}

{-t'a-}

{-t"api-}

{-xa$_{2}$} (completive)

{-xa-$_{3}$} (plural)

{-xaru-}

{-xäsi-}

{-xata-}

{-xaya-}

The conditioning of vowel dropping is morphemic. It will be noticed that the three resonants /w/, /r/, /y/ require a preceding vowel, and this may be evidence of some phonological conditioning.[2] Also, although Aymara consonants cluster quite easily, there are some limitations which undoubtedly affect the morphophonemic influences of the suffixes. The two verbal derivational suffixes which begin with consonant clusters, for instance, require a preceding vowel. All verbal derivational suffixes which begin with/x/ require a preceding consonant, but this is probably class conditioning, because there is a nominal suffix {-xa} which requires a preceding vowel, and a sentence suffix {-xa} which exerts no influence of its own.

The above statements about regressive influence on morphemes on the preceding vowel apply to roots containing two vowels. Roots with three vowels do not follow the same rules, since the final vowel of these roots frequently drops no matter what the following suffix is.

3. Verbal Derivational Suffixes - Comparisons and Combinations

This section will be devoted to comparisons of several of the verbal derivational suffixes, and a discussion of the ways in which they combine. As has been mentioned previously, the suffixes of Set II can be added to almost any verb root or theme in Aymara, and it is not at all unusual for as many as seven of the Set II suffixes to occur on a single verb stem. Set I suffixes have more limitations, some of which have been pointed out in Section 2. They can combine, however, although usually not in groups of more than two or three. Section 3.6 shows examples of verbs with large numbers of suffixes added.

3.1 The causatives {-cha-} and{-ya-}.

{-cha-} is the causative which acts on the verb root and belongs to Class I verbal derivational suffixes. {-ya-} is also a causative, but it acts on the inflection of the verb and belongs to Class II suffixes. Both {-cha-} and{-ya-} can be added to the same verb, in which case causation is applied to both the persons and the action of the verb. Several sets illustrate this clearly:

suti 'name'
suti.cha.ña 'to nickname, call names' (cause naming).
suti.ya.ña 'to baptize' (cause someone to be named) (godfather to child).
suti.cha.ya.ña 'make someone call names' (cause someone to cause naming).
suti.ya.ya.ña 'cause the godfather to baptize' (parent to godfather to child).

yati.ña 'to know.'

yati.cha.ña 'to teach' (cause knowing).

yati.ya.ña 'to inform' (cause someone to know).

yati.cha.ya.ña 'make someone teach' (cause someone to cause knowing)

yati.ya.ya.ña 'cause someone to inform.'

3.2 The directionals {-qa-}, {-su-}, {-ta-}, {-nta-}.

These suffixes all have auxiliary functions to their purely directiona ones. {-qa- } is used the least in any but its directional sense, but the other three directionals are used frequently with other functions. The four suffixes fall into two pairs in a directional sense: {-su-} and {-ta-} go together, and {-qa-} and {-nta-} go together. For instance, *mistu.ña* 'to come out,' can take either {-su-} or {-ta-}, but it cannot take {-qa-} or {-nta-}. In terms of Aymara categories, 'out' and 'up' are more like each other than they are to 'in and 'down,' which are likewise paired. Although these suffixes are not in the same order class, they do not co-occur with ease, and probably cannot co-occur if both suffixes have directional functions. An example of {-ta-} occurring with {-qa-} is: *sara.ña* 'to go' plus {-qa-} plus {-ta-} is *sara.q.ta.waya.ña* 'to go

down, very well dressed, without looking at anyone.'

An example of {-ta-} and {-su-} on the same root is:

uña.ña 'to see' plus {-su-} and {-ta-} is *uñ.s.ta.ña* 'to appear.

In both these examples direction is indicated by the first of the directionals, and inception by the {-ta-}.

Direction is also marked by nominal suffixes, and it is interesting to note that although all of the verbal directionals can occur with the nominal directional {-ru} 'toward,' all but {-nta-} can occur with the nominal directional {-ta} 'away from.' In Aymara it is not possible to go in at the same time as going away.

When these suffixes are not used in their directional sense, {-ta-} and {-nta-} are closer to each other than they are to {-su-} and {-qa-}. Both {-ta-} and {-nta-} are inceptives, while {-su-} is a completive. In their inceptive functions, {-ta-} and {-nta-} rarely occur on the same root. When they do, there seems to be a time difference between them.[3] For instance:

arka.ña 'to follow' plus {-ta-} is ark.ta.ña 'to follow after a little while, especially spies and others who do not want to be seen.'

arka.ña plus {-nta-} is arka.nta.ña 'to follow directly behind' (both people can be seen and are aware of each other.

3.3 The completives {-su-} and {-xa-}.

In Aymara {-su-} is a completive acting on the root and belonging to Class I verbal derivational suffixes, while {-xa-} acts on the inflection and belongs to Class II suffixes. Several examples illustrate the difference between these two suffixes:

uña.ña 'to see.'
uñ.su.ña 'to look at all over.'
uñ.xa.ña 'to see already.'
yati.ña 'to know.'
yat.su.ña 'to learn already.'
yat.xa.ña 'to know already.'
yat.s.xa.ña 'to already learn something that takes a lot of practice.'

3.4 The distance suffixes {-nuku-} and {-waya-}.

These two suffixes both indicate distance; {-nuku-} indicates distance of the action and {-waya-} distance of the persons. The suffixes can occur together on the same root. {-nuku-} indicates that the action is moving away from where it started, while {-waya-} indicates that the persons are moving away or are already away from the action. Examples are:

apa.ña 'to carry.'
apa.nuku.ña 'to throw away.'
apa.waya.ña 'to take away' (as you are going away).
apa.nuku.waya.ña 'to throw away on one's way.'

3.5. Nearness {-ni-} and distance {-waya-}.

These two suffixes might be thought to be mutually exclusive, but they are in fact very frequently used together. When they are used together they indicate circular action; the person starts out at a place, does something while moving away, and then returns.

apa.ña 'carry' plus {-ni-} and {-waya-} is apa.ni.waya.ña 'to get something on the way and bring it back.'

ala.ña 'to buy' plus {-ni-} and {-waya-} is ala.ni.waya.ña 'to buy something on the way and return.'

{-ni-} plus {-waya-} together express the sentiment of the English 'While you're up, get me a ______."

The combination of {-ni-} and {-waya-} can also express discrepancies between where the speaker was at the time of an action and where he is when he tells about it. For instance, Mr. Yapita, in telling about a photograph which was taken in Bolivia, used {-ni-} and {-waya-} to indicate that he took the picture while he was in Bolivia, but was telling about it in the United States.

Uk"an aka fotografiy ap.su.ni.way.ta . 'I took this picture there.'

The use of {-ni-} and {-waya-} is very important in Aymara; personal location is an essential part of an act.

3.6 Suffix Combinations in Aymara.

In this section several examples of verb roots with more than one derivational suffix will be given. This is to show more about how different suffixes combine. As has been pointed out, it is unusual to find more than one or two Class I suffixes on a single root, but there can be as many as seven Class II suffixes on a single root. The examples given here by no means exhaust the possibilities for combination in Aymara; they are intended only to illustrate various options and interesting results of combination.

{-cha-} plus {-ta-}:

yati.ña 'to know,' *yati.ch.ta.ña* 'to teach superficially.'

{-cha-} plus {-ja-}:

uta 'house,' *uta.ch.ja.ña* 'to build houses in different places.'

{-ja-} plus {-si-}:

uma.ña 'to drink,' *um.ja.si.ña* 'to get drunk.'

{-xata-} plus {-ta-}:

apa.ña 'to carry,' *ap.xat.ta.ña* 'for rain clouds to come back after a brief disappearance.'

{-t"api-}, {-ta-}, and {-ni-}:

apa.ña 'to carry,' ap.t"ap.ta.ni.ña 'for rainclouds to gather just before a storm.'

{-su-} plus {-si-}:

apa.ña 'to carry,' ap.su.si.ña 'to take off [clothing].'

{-su-} plus {-ra-}:

apa.ña 'to carry,' ap.su.ra.ña 'to take out one at a time.'

{-ra-} plus {-ta-}:

apa.ña 'to carry,' apa.r.ta.ña 'to be cloudless [the sky].'

{-ra-} plus {-t'a-}:

sama.ña 'to breathe,' sama.r.t'a.ña 'to rest for a minute.'

{-qa-} plus {-ya-}:

sara.ña 'to go,' sara.qa.ya.ña 'to go down to someone, for example a sick or old person.'

{-qa-} plus {-xa-}:

sara.ña 'to go,' sara.q.xa.ña 'to go away when one is going down.'

{-naqa-} plus {-ya-}:

sara.ña 'to go,' sar.naqa.ya.ña 'to walk someone around [like a baby].'

{-kata-} plus {-xi-}:

uña.ña 'to see,' uñ.kata.si.ña 'to look in a mirror.'

{-naqa-}, {-t'a-}, {-si-}, {-waya-}:

sara.ña 'to go,' sar.naq.t'a.si.waya.ña 'to stay briefly in a place.'

{-naqa-}, {-t'a-}, {-si-}:

sara.ña 'to go,' sar.naq.t'a.si.ña 'to live a luxurious life alone' (advice against marriage).

{-ta-} plus {-t'a-}:

apa.ña 'to carry,' ap.t.t'a.ña 'to pick up for a minute.'

{-nuqa-}, {-ni-}, {-waya-}, {-si-}, {-ka-}:

wara.ña 'to drop something,' war.nuqa.ni.waya.s.ka.: 'I'll place them that way.'

{-nuku-}, {-ya-}, {-si-}, {-ni-}:

*ana.ña 'to shoo,' ana.nuku.ya.si.ni.:ma 'I'll leave you off.'

{-ra-}, {-ya-}, {-si-}, {-si-}, {-ka-}:

qunu.ña 'to sit,' qunu.ra.ya.si.s.k.i 'he was seating them one by one.'

{-ya-}, {-ni-}, {-waya-}, {-si-}, {-p-}, {-ka-}:

apa.ña 'to carry,' apa.ya.ni.waya.si.p.k.i 'They sent if from here to there.'

3.7 A Comparison of Functions of the Verbal Derivational Suffixes

Time, mode, and person are contained in the verbal inflection in Aymara. Other than this, all strictly verbal relationships are expressed in the verbal derivational suffixes, which are varied in the number and types of relationships which they can describe. Almost half of the verbal derivational suffixes are involved in some way in indicating the position of the action, or of the persons with respect to the action. Other suffixes are concerned with the relation of the participants, indicated in the inflection, to the action and to each other (interactionals). A third type of function the verbal derivationals have is to indicate the type of action, or aspect. Two suffixes indicate plurality. A listing of the suffixes in these classes may help organize the comparison and contrast of the functions of verbal derivational suffixes. These suffixes may combine in ways not anticipated, and the gloss is meant as a guide to the most usual function, not necessarily as a descript of a category.

Position: This category may be divided into two subcategories, direction and location. Some suffixes seem to belong to both.

A. Direction:

{-kata-} action across

{-kipa-} action passing by or around a corner

{-naqa-} action without direction, non-purposive

{-nta-} action into

{-qa-} action down

{-su-} action out of

{-ta-} action up

{-tata-} action scattered, outward from a point

{-t"api-} action gathers, inward to a point

B. Location:

{-nuku-} action away from the start

{-nuqa-} action which places

{-xa:si-} action which is static

{-xata-} action on top of, this involves upward direction also

{-ni-} action in which the persons are near

{-waya-} action in which the persons are far

Interaction: The first four suffixes affect the complements

{-si-$_1$} reflexive, the subject acts upon himself

{-rapi-} beneficiary, the subjects acts in someone's interest

{-raqa-} victimary, the subject acts to the detriment of someone else's possessions

{-ya-} causative, the subject causes another person to act

{-cha-} causative, the subject causes another action

{-ch'uki-} reciprocal, the action is between two people

Aspect:

{-ja-}	divisive
{-ka-}	incomplete
{-nta-}	inceptive
{-ra-}	serial multiple
{-rpaya-}	multiple non-ordered
{-su-}	completive
{-ta-}	inceptive
{-t'a-}	momentaneous
{-xaru-}	preparative
{-xaya-}	attentive
{-si-$_2$}	continuative, with respect to persons
{-xa-$_2$}	completive, with respect to persons

Plural:

{-p-}	plural
{-xa-$_3$}	plural completive

4. Suggestions for Further Research

Further research on the Aymara verbal derivational suffixes needs to be done in the area of the relationships these suffixes have with the rest of the language, and the ways in which they influence other parts of the grammar. In particular, more work needs to be done with complements and their relationships to verbs and to verbal derivational suffixes. The description of the complements will of necessity be quite complex, because the complements are affected by the roots and the suffixes of the verb. Each verb has its class of zero complements, but the derivational suffixes, particularly Set I suffixes, affect the zero complements. The interaction of the root and suffix on complements is very complicated and much needs to be discovered about this area. Some of the effects of Set II derivational suffixes on the {-ru} complements have been indicated here, but this area also needs to be explored further.

Another area which needs further research is that of direction. Direction is very important, and there are directional themes which run through the entire language. The relationship of verbal direction, as shown in the verbal derivational suffixes, to direction in other parts of the morphology needs to be examined and explained. There should be interrelation between the directional systems of the verbs and the substantives.

Another area of interest which has only been briefly mentioned here is the morphophonemic system. The extent of patterning and of phonological conditioning has yet to be worked out, and this obviously must take the whole language into consideration.

The importance of personal and non-personal knowledge in Aymara has hardly been mentioned at all. This dichotomy pervades the whole language, and it is likely that further research may indicate that it also appears in the verbal derivational suffixes (see note 2). Some verbal derivational suffixes may indicate source of knowledge in addition to other functions.

A final area for further research is an historical analysis of Aymara and historical comparisons of Aymara verbal derivational suffixes with verb suffixes in other languages of the Jaqi family. This would help to define the functions of the verbal derivational suffixes, and might especially shed some light on the frozen forms described in 2.1.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The use of the suffix {-qa-} 'down' for iki.qa.ña 'to sleep somewhere else' and lluji.ca.ña 'to separate a lot off one side' may be a reflection of the hilly terrain in which the Aymara live. Sleeping anywhere but home is usually down a mountain, and 'to separate a lot off one side' may indicate that a side is usually vertical.

[2] See Barber, 1970 (30-35), for the combinations of consonants found in clusters. Chapter III of this book.

[3] This may also be a difference between personal and non-personal knowledge, which is of great importance in Aymara. With ark.ta.ña 'to follow after a little while,' the two persons involved cannot be seen by an observer, so he would not have personal knowledge of the event. With arka.nta.ña 'to follow directly behind,' an observer could see both people at once and would therefore have personal knowledge of the event.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Glossary of Words

The entries are listed alphabetically by complete morpheme, without regard for morphophonemics. This enables roots to be listed before stems.

ala.ña 'to buy'

al.ja.ña 'to sell'

al.j.kata.ña 'to sell everything'

ala.ni.waya.ña 'to buy something on the way and return'

al.ta.ña 'to buy a lot of things, not for profit, but for personal use. A waste of money may be involved.'

alli.ña 'to dig'

all.ta.ña 'to dig up'

*ana.ña 'to shoo animals'

an.kata.ña 'to drive herd animals up a hill'

ana.ki.ña 'to herd animals'

ana.nta.ña 'to shoo in'

ana.nuku.ña 'to herd away'

ana.nuku.ya.si.ni.:ma 'I'll leave you off'

ana.ra.ña 'to impound herd animals'

ana.rpaya.ña 'to leave animals'

an.ta.ña 'to make the animals move'

anata.ña 'to play'

anat.xaya.ña 'to interrupt or annoy someone by playing *apa.ña* 'to carry'

ap.ja.ña 'to help to carry'

ap.kata.ña 'pick up and put down higher'

apa.kipa.ña 'to pass something to the other side'

ap.naqa.ña 'to handle'

apa.ni.ña 'to carry when one is near or coming near'

apa.ni.waya.ña 'to get something on the way and bring it back'

apa.nta.ña 'to put in'

apa.nuku.ña 'throw away'

apa.nuku.waya.ña 'to throw away on one's way'

ap.nuqa.ña 'to put down'

apa.qa.ña 'to take down'

apa.ra.ña 'to grab'

apa.r.ta.ña 'to be cloudless (the sky)'

apa.r.xa.ña 'to confiscate'

apa.raqa.ña 'to take something that is not the subject's'

apa.rpaya.ña 'to leave behind'

apa.si.ña 'to carry (oneself)'

apa.s.ka.ña 'to be taking'

ap.su.ña 'to take out'

ap.su.ra.ña 'to take out one at a time'

ap.su.si.ña 'to take off (clothing)'

ap.ta.ña 'to pick up, begin to take'

ap.ta.ni.m 'bring (imperative)'

ap.t.t'a.ña 'to pick up for a minute'

apa.tata.ña 'to spread out'

ap.t'a.ña 'to give responsibility to someone else'

ap.t"api.ña 'to gather'

ap.t"api.ni.ña 'for rainclouds to gather just before a storm'

apa.waya.ña 'to take away'

ap.xaru.ña 'to get ready to take'

ap.xa:si.ña 'to hold in hands'

ap.xata.ña 'to put something on top of'

ap.xat.ta.ña 'for rain clouds to come back after a brief disappearance'

apa.ya.ña 'to send'

apa.ya.ni.waya.si.p.k.i 'they sent it from here to there'

arka.ña 'to follow'

arka.nta.ña 'to follow directly behind'

ark.ta.ña 'to follow after a little while'

arku.ña 'to pile'

arku.rpaya.ña 'to make several piles'

ati.ña 'to cover'

at.xata.ña 'to put something on top of'

awisa.ña 'to inform'

awis.kata.ña 'to inform everything'

ayti.ña 'to wash with a swirling motion'

ayti.li.ña 'to sway, like a bridge, or to nod the head jerkily'

ayti.nki.ña 'to sway up and down and around in the air'

aywi.ña 'to go in a herd'

ayw.kata.ña 'to go up a hill in a group'

ayw.ta.ña 'to start to go together, e.g. to attack'

aywi.tata.ña 'to go spread out in different directions'

chura.ña	'to give'
chur.kata.ña	'to give something when the seller can't sell it'
chur.xa.ña	'to give back'
chinu.ña	'to tie'
chin.ja.ña	'to divide and tie up'
chinu.ra.ña	'to tie one by one'
chinu.rpaya.ña	'to tie several things separately'
chin.t''api.ña	'to tie two things together'
ichu.ña	'to carry with two hands, e.g. a baby'
ichu.xa:si.ña	'to hold [a baby] in the hands'
iki.ña	'to sleep'
iki.qa.ña	'to sleep somewhere else'
ima.ña	'to keep'
ima.ya.ña	'to bury'
inku	'carrying cloth'
inku.nuku.ña	'to pass to someone'
ira.ña	'to carry'
ir.ch'uki.ña	'for two children to throw small things at each other'
ir.pa.ña	'to lead someone'
ir.ta.ña	'to pick up'
jacha.ña	'to cry'
jacha.nta.ña	'to start to cry without tears, not suddenly'
jacha.ra.ña	'to cry loudly (several people)'
jach.su.ña	'to cry suddenly'

jak"u.ña 'to count'
jak".ja.ña 'to divide in equal groups (by counting)'
jak".kata.ña 'to count money to a cashier'

jala.ña 'to run'
jala.rpaya.ña 'to run out (like tears)'

jaqu.ña 'to throw'
jaq.nuqa.ña 'to put down with force'
jaq.su.ña 'to throw out and up'

jila.ña 'to grow'
jil.su.ña 'to grow up'

jiwa.ña 'to die'
jiwa.ya.ña 'to kill'

junt'u 'hot'
junt'.ja.ña 'to be hot (persons, animals)'
junt'.kata.ña 'to make hot in a small area'
junt'u.nta.ña 'to begin to get hot'
junt'u.ra.ña 'to be hot after being cold'
junt'u.tata.ña 'to spread out the heat'

k"uch"u.ña 'to cut'
k"uch".ja.ña 'to divide with a blade'
k"uch"u.rpaya.ña 'to cut from different pieces'

liwa.ña 'to feed (animals)'
liw.ja.ña 'to serve food'

lura.ña 'to do'
lur.xa.ña 'to do already'

lluji.ña 'to carry a straw-like substance'
lluji.qa.ña 'to separate a lot off one side'
lluj.t"api.ña 'to gather a straw-like substance'

mistu.ña 'to come out'
mistu.ra.ña 'to come out one at a time'

nak"a.ña 'to burn'
nak"a.ra.ña 'to burn on the surface but not inside'
nuwa.ña 'to slap'
nuw.ja.ña 'to punch'

parla.ña 'to speak'
parla.kipa.ña 'to communicate'
parla.nta.ña 'to start to speak'
parla.p.ka.ña 'to speak ahead (plural)'
parla.p.xa.ña 'to speak already (plural)'
parla.ra.ña 'to talk louder at another time'
parla.si.ña 'to speak (oneself)'
parla.si.p.ka.ña 'to be speaking ahead (plural)'
parl.su.ña 'to pronounce'
parl.t'a.ña 'to talk with someone a few minutes'
parl.t'a.wava.ña 'to tell at some other place'
parl.xaya.ña 'to talk to someone (attention focused on that person)'

pirqa.ña 'to build a wall'
pirq.su.ña 'to finish building'
pirq.xa.ña 'to divide a wall'

pisa.ña 'to weigh'
pisa.kipa.ña 'to weigh out too much'
pisa.ra.ña 'to weigh one at a time'

p"alla.ña 'to burst'
p"alla.tata.ña 'to burst and scatter; e.g., a grain-filled sack'

p"aya.ña 'to cook'
p"ay.xaya.ña 'to cook for someone'

p"usa.ña 'to blow'
p"us.ch'uki.ña 'to blow at someone (reciprocal)'
p"usa.nta.ña 'to blow in'
p"usa.qa.ña 'to blow down or off'
p"us.su.ña 'to blow out'

qunu.ña 'to sit'
qun.kata.ña 'to sit close to someone'
qunu.ra.ya.si.s.k.i 'he was seating them one by one'
qun.xaya.ña 'to sit with someone'

q'ipi.ña 'to carry on the back'
q'ip.xa:si.ña 'to hold on the back'

sama.ña 'to breathe'

sama.ra.ña 'to rest'

sama.r.t'a.ña 'to rest for a minute'

sara.ña 'to go'

sar.ka.ña 'to go ahead'

sar.naqa.ña 'to walk around'

sar.naq.t'a.si.ña 'to live a luxurious life alone (advice against marriage

sar.naq.t'a.si.waya.ña 'to stay briefly in a place'

sar.naqa.ya.ña 'to walk someone around (like a baby)'

sara.nuku.ña 'to get lost'

sara.p.ka.ña 'to go ahead'

sara.qa.ña 'to go down'

sara.qa.s.ka.ña 'to be going down'

sara.q.ta.waya.ña 'to go down, very well dressed, without looking at anyon

sara.q.xa.ña 'to go away, when one is going down'

sara.qa.ya.ña 'to go down to someone, e.g. a sick or old person'

sara.s.ka.ña 'to be going'

sar.ta.ña 'to stand up, get up'

sar.ta.waya.ña 'to get up and go away'

sar.t'a.ña 'to visit'

sar.t"api.ña 'to get up'

sar.xa.ña 'to go back, away, home'

sar.xaru.ña 'to get ready to go'

sar.xata.ña 'to go up on top of'

saya.ña 'to stand'

say.ja.ña 'to stand on one foot'

suti 'name'

suti.cha.ña 'to nickname, call names'

suti.cha.ya.ña 'to make someone name'

suti.ya.ña 'to baptize'

suti.ya.ya.ña 'to cause [the godfather] to baptize'

tuqi.ña 'to scold'

tuq.xa.ña 'to scold someone'

tuyu.ña 'to swim'

tuyu.nta.ña 'to go down into the water little by little'

tuyu.qa.ña 'to swim far little by little'

t"aya 'cold'

t"ay.ja.ña 'to be cold (persons, animals)'

t"uqu.ña 'to dance'

t"uqu.nuku.ña 'to jump away in the wrong direction'

t"uq.su.ña 'to jump up'

uma.ña 'to drink'

um:ja.si.ña 'to get drunk'

uña.ña 'to see'

uñ.ch'uki.ña 'to look at'

uñ.kata.ña 'to look at directly'

uñ.kata.si.ña 'to look in a mirror'

uña.kipa.ña 'to observe, check'

uñ.naqa.ña 'to have eyes open all around'
uñ.su.ña 'to look at all over'
uñ.s.ta.ña 'to appear'
uñ.xa.ña 'to see already'

usu.ña 'to be sick, to hurt'
us.ja.ña 'to be sick after drinking too much'

uta 'house'
uta.cha.ña 'to build a house'
uta.ch.ja.ña 'to build houses in different places'
ut.ja.ña 'to exist, to live someplace'
ut.nuca.ña 'to sit down'
ut.t"api.ña 'to sit very close'

wara.ña 'to drop something'
war.nuqa.ni.waya.s.ka.: 'I'll place them that way'

wawa 'baby'
wawa.cha.ña 'to have offspring (animal)'
waw.t'a.ña 'to whimper (from sibling jealousy)'

wiru.ña 'to float'
wir.ja.ña 'to circle in the air like buzzards'

yana.ña 'to try'
yana.pa.ña 'to help'

yati.ña 'to know'
yati.cha.ña 'to teach'

yati.ch.ta.ña 'to teach superficially'

yati.cha.ya.ña 'to make someone teach'

yati.qa.ña 'to learn'

yat.su.ña 'to learn already'

yat.s.xa.ña 'to learn already something that takes a lot of practice'

yat.xa.ña 'to know already'

yati.ya.ña 'to inform'

yati.ya.ya.ña 'to cause someone to inform'

Appendix B: Index of Suffixes

{-cha-} 2.21, 3.1

{-ch'uki-} 2.28.2

{-ja-} 2.22

{-ka-} 2.39.2

{-kata-} 2.27.1

{-ki-} 2.11

{-kipa-} 2.27.2

{-li-} 2.12

{-naqa-} 2.27.3

{-ni-} 2.33, 3.5

{-nki-} 2.12

{-nta-} 2.27.4, 3.2

{-nuku-} 2.27.5, 3.4

{-nuqa-} 2.25.1

{-p-} 2.38

{-pa-} 2.13

{-qa-} 2.25.2, 3.2

{-ra-} 2.24.1

{-rapi-} 2.36.1

{-raqa-} 2.36.2

{-rpaya-} 2.29

{-si-$_1$} 2.32

{-si-$_2$} 2.35

{-su-} 2.23, 3.2, 3.3

{-ta-} 2.26, 3.2

{-tata-} 2.27.5

{-t'a-} 2.28.1

{-t''api-} 2.24.2

{-waya-} 2.34, 3.4, 3.5

{-xa-$_1$} 2.14

{-xa-$_2$} 2.37, 3.3

{-xa-$_3$} 2.39.1

{-xaru-} 2.27.7

{-xa:si-} 2.27.8

{-xata-} 2.25.3

{-xaya-} 2.27.9

{-ya-} 2.31, 3.1

Appendix C: Morpheme Frequency

Using nine dialogues from the teaching materials prepared by the Aymara Language Materials Project, and eight stories told by native Aymara speakers (one of which was taped by M. J. Hardman-de-Bautista and three of which were collected by Lucy T. Briggs), a count was made of the frequency of occurrence of each of the verbal derivational suffixes. Some skewing of the count was undoubtedly present because any particular vocabulary item which appeared in one story frequently appeared several times, but the general order is fairly accurate. Suffixes are listed in order, beginning with the most frequent, and the numbers refer to the actual number of times each suffix was counted. Set is indicated by the preceding number.

II	{-s̱i-$_1$} (reflexive)	88	II	{-p-}	32
II	{-ka-}	85	II	{-xa-$_3$} (plural)	28
I	{-t'a-}	79	I	{-su-}	26
II	{-ni-}	67	I	{-ra-}	13
II	{-waya-}	57	I	{-£''api-}	12
II	{-xa-$_2$} (completive)	57	I	{-nta-}	12
II	{-s̱i-$_2$} (continuative)	48	I	{-qa-}	9
I	{-ja-}	40	II	{-rapi-}	9
II	{-ya-}	38	I	{-xaru-}	8
I	{-ta-}	37	I	{-ch'uki-}	8

I	{-cha-}	6	I	{-rpaya-}	2
I	{-xata-}	6	I	{-tata-}	2
I	{-nuqa-}	6	II	{-raqa-}	1
I	{-naqa-}	5	I	{-nuku-}	1
I	{-kata-}	2	I	{-xa:si-}	0
I	{-kipa-}	2	I	{-xaya-}	0

Appendix D: Dialogue

The following dialogue was written by Mr. Yapita and Miss Vasquez for the Aymara language course at the University of Florida. A literal translation is presented interlineally, and a free translation follows. Each verbal derivational suffix is underlined.

CH'UQI PALL.JA.Ñ.XATA
POTATO HARVESTING ON

Chacha.x	Jusiy	sa.ta.w,	warmi.sti	Maruj	sa.ta.raki.w,
The man	Joe	is called	and the woman	Marge	also is called

jupa.x	yanap.iri.naka.mpi.w	ch'uq	pall.j.ir	sara.p.xa.ni/
she	and the helpers	potato	for sorting	are going.

Tata	Jusiya.sti	sara.raki.ni.w	jupa.naka.r	yanap.iri/
Mr.	Joe	is also going	them	for helping.

M.	Jusiy,	na.naka.x	ch'uq	pall.j.iri.w	sara.p.xa.:,
	Joe,	we	potato	for sorting	let us go,

yanap.iri.naka.x	puri.ni.p.x.i.w/
the helpers	have arrived.

J. Kawki.:r p''ina.t.s pall.ja.ni.p.xa.:ta, jisk'a p''ina.ta:
which from pile will you sort little pile from

jach'a p''ina.t.cha?
big pile from or?

M. K''a: jach'a p''ina.ta.:.spa.ch sa.k.t.wa.y/
That big pile from or I said.

J. Jan uka.t pall.ja.ni.p.ka.m.ti, antisans jisk'a p''ina.:ki
Not from that do not sort, rather little pile would be

uka.n laq'u.ta.n.jama.x/ Nin.sti k''iti.s
In that it looks like there are wormy ones. And fire who

wawa.naka.tak p''aya.ni?
for children will cook?

M. Naya.: alwa.t p''ay.ta.waya.:.xa, mirinta.s apa.si.ña.:.chi.y/
I early will cook, our lunch we need to take.

J. Wali.ki.w, uk''ama.x naya.mp.pacha.y sara.p.xa.ñani.x,
Okay, then all of us will go,

ch'uqi.s ch'uñu.:.wi.r
potatos place where potatoes are freeze-dried

k''umu.ña.:.chi.y/
there is need to take on pack animal.

M. Uk''ana.x sar.xaru.ma.y. uma.mp
Then please get ready to go, with water

wayu.ni.wava.:ta/
you will carry on the way.

Mama Maruja.x yanap.iri.naka.mpi.w sar.k.i, chacha.x
Mrs. Marge with the helpers is going ahead, man

q''ipa.t.rak sara.ni/
also from behind will go.

J. Niya.raki.s pall.su.p.xa.ta:ta.xa:, uk''ama.x tunta.mpi.tak
And already you all had sorted out, then for the tunta

ch'uñu.mpi.tak k''umu.:.xa.y/
and for the ch'uñu I will take on pack animal.

M. Pall.ja.si.p.ka.rak.t.wa, um.st wayu.ń.ta.ti?
We all are still sorting, and water did you carry?

J. Arm.t'a.ni.wa.pini.ta:t.wa, Maruja, k''ay.ja.nak
I forgot by the way, Marge, in that spot over there

amta.s.ta/
I remembered.

M. Kuna lup'i.si.sa.rak sar.naq.ta.sti, ⟨apa.ni.:ta.w⟩
What thinking to yourself did you walking around "bring it here"

sa.rak.sma.sa:/
I told you.

J. Jich"a.x jani.y kulira.si.m.ti.xa/ Jich".ur
Now not don't get mad. Today

tuku.y.xa.p.sna.ti?
will we finish?

M. Janjaw, wal.ja.:.s.k.i.w, uk:ama.ru.s wali
I doubt it, there's still plenty, and also many

laq'u.ta.ni.w/
wormy ones.

J. Uk"ama.x jan uka p"ina.t pali.ja.p.ka.sama:n.ti/
Then no that from pile you all shouldn't have sorted.

M. Juma.raki.s jich".armant"i.x ⟨jisk'a p"in.t pall.ja.ni.p.xa.m⟩
And you this morning "little from pile we should sort"

sis.ta.xa, jich"a.x ⟨jan uka.t palla.p.ka.sama:n.t⟩
you said, now "not from that we shouldn't sort"

sa.rak.ta.w/
you say.

J. Uka.t.s tuqi.s.xa.raki.k.ta.w/ Q"ar.ur k'ach"a.t
About that you even get mad. Tomorrow slowly

	tuku.ya.x.k.chi.ñani.y,	'war.nuqa.tat	luxu.s.k.chi.ni.y,
	we can finish,	all spread out	they will go ahead and freeze

	uk''ama.ru.s.	juk'a.ki.:.x.i.sa:/
	anyway	there are just a few.

M.	Way kun.ja:ma.s	tuku.ya.p.x.tan.w,	sama.ra.p.xa.ñani/
	At last	we are finished,	let us rest.

	Mama.nak,	ak.sa.t	mirinta.si.p.xa.ñani/
	Ladies,	this way	we will eat lunch.

J.	Jich''a.x	aka	t'una	ch'uq	q'ip.xaru.waya.:sma/
	Now	this	tiny	potato	you ought to take on your back.

M.	Juma.y	ap.xaru.waya.m.xa,	qar.ja.s.k.itu.wa/
	You	get ready to take it,	weariness has come to me.

J.	Uk''ama.x	uta.ru.y	sar.xa.m	nin	p''ay.iri/
	Then	to house	you go	fire	cooking.

M.	Sama.r.t'a.si.ki.:.xa.y	ma:	ratu,	aka.taq	jan
	I will only rest	a	moment	this much	no

	inak.t'a.ya.s.iri.:.xa:/
	be allowed to rest.

J.	Aka	kustal	nuk.t.t'.ita/
	This	sack	help me load.

M.	K"iw.xaru.si.ma.y,	jani.t	ch'ama.ni.:.k.t	kuna.raki/
	Load it yourself,	or not	you are not strong	or what.

J.	Jat"i.:.chi.xa.y,	janch'a.si.k.ista.s/
	It's heavy,	what are you scolding me for?

M.	Kamisa.raki.st	jat"i.:.ni.sti	uk"a	lala.sti/
	How can that be	it will be heavy	that	little bit.

J.	Aka.taq	tuqi.s.iri.xa:,	jisus/
	Such	a scold,	Jesus.

M.	Juspajara.p.ka.:tam,	mama.nak,	yanap.t'a.p.k.iri.s/
	Thank you very much,	ladies,	for your help.

Jayp.t'.istaspa.w,	sara.p.xa.ñani/	Uka.x
It's getting dark on us,	let's go.	Here is

juma.naka.n	pall.ja.ma.x/
yours	your part.

Free translation:

On Potato Harvesting

The man is called Joseph and the woman is called Marge. She and the helpers are going to sort the potatoes. Joseph is also going to help them.

M. Joe, let's go sort the potatoes, the helpers have arrived.

J. Which pile are you going to sort from, the little one or the big one?

M. I was thinking from that pile over there.

J. Don't sort from that one; instead sort from the small pile, it looks like it has wormy ones. Now, who's going to cook for the children?

M. I'll cook early, we really ought to take our lunch.

J. Okay, let's all go together; we also need to take the potatoes to the freeze-dry place.

M. Then, please get ready to go, and bring the water with you.

Marge is going ahead with the helpers, and her husband will follow.

J. You've already finished sorting! So I'll take them on the donkey for the tunta and the ch'uñu.

M. But we're still sorting! Did you bring the water?

J. I completely forgot, Marge, I just remembered a minute ago.

M. But what were you thinking? I told you to bring it.

J. Well don't get mad now. Do you think we'll finish today?

M. I doubt it, there's still plenty, there are a lot of wormy ones too.

J. Then you shouldn't have sorted from that pile.

M. You yourself said this morning that we should sort from the small pile. Now you say we shouldn't have sorted from that pile.

J. You even get mad about that. Well, we'll finish easily tomorrow. Once they're all spread out in place they'll go ahead and freeze; anyway there's not too many.

M. At last we're through, we can rest a bit, ladies, come help yourselves.

J. Now I'd like you to take the tiny potatoes on your back.

M. You take them, I'm tired.

J. Then go home and cook.

M. I'm going to rest awhile, can't you let me be even a moment?

J. Help me load the sack.

M. Load it yourself, or aren't you strong enough?

J. It's heavy - what are you scolding me for?

M. What do you mean heavy? That little nothing!

J. Such a shrew! Jesus!

M. Thank you, ladies, for your help. It's getting dark, let's go. Here's your part.

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CHAPTER VII

VERBAL INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES

1 Introduction

The Aymara verbal inflectional system is characterized by first, the complexity and nature of the verb persons and secondly, by the requirement of specifying data source.

The verb paradigm has nine verb persons. All verb person suffixes involve at least two persons (if such derivational suffixes as -ya, -rapi, or -raqa occur, more persons are involved, see Chapter VI and Chapter VIII) in interaction. This is shown by an arrow (→) between the digits referring to the persons. Number is not obligatory; no inflectional suffix carries any direct implication of number.[1] The four persons interacting in the verb system are the same as those found in the substantive system, and, for redundancy or explicitness, the pronouns may occur in direct reflection of the verb person. They are:

1p	naya
2p	juma
3p	jupa
4p	jiwasa

The possible interactions[2] in Aymara of these four give nine verb persons as follows (with typical noun redundancies supplied):

1→2	nayax jumaru
2→1	jumax nayaru
3→3	jupax juparu
1→3	nayax juparu
4→3	jiwasax juparu
3→1	jupax nayaru
3→4	jupax jiwasaru
2→3	jumax juparu
3→2	jupax jumaru

All verb person sets are presented in the order above; all persons are abbreviated as above or with a following p, e.g.: 2→3p.

Most verb roots imply a zero complement or sometimes a -ta or -na complement (see Chapter VIII, 3.21.2, 3.21.5), so that , even without the derivational suffixes that will add a third person to verb person interaction (see reference above), an Aymara verb will often implicate three persons; with the derivationals, this results in four persons. These may be redundantly stated with substantives in the sentence, but usually they are not, leaving the burden on the verb.

All Aymara verbs are transitive, that is, all verbs participate in the nine person system where subject and complement are one. The suffixes corresponding to the interactions are unitary, not divisible into subject/complement forms.

A tense in Aymara is defined as any one of the sets of mutually exclusive paradigms. The specification of a tense includes time, data source, and realization features. Aspect and movement are marked primarily by the verbal derivational suffixes (Chapter VI); mood is marked primarily by independent and sentence suffixes. Chart VIIA shows the tenses in their time and data source relationships. The future is to the left, reflecting the Aymara space/time metaphor of the future in back. The primary time line is the present/past tense, also called simple tense. It should be noted that the chart is basically circular - the unrealized (out of reach) future and the unrealized (out of reach) past are based on the same form.

The verbal inflectional suffixes are said to form principal verbs. This means that, with the appropriate sentence suffixes, a verb stem with an inflectional suffix may stand alone as a sentence. Such forms are not required for a sentence - the sentence suffixes are, and a noun or other constructions can fill the slot as well. They do, however, contrast with the subordinate forms (paragraph 4 below) which cannot stand alone as a sentence except as a direct reply in a context where the main form (verb or otherwise) is still present. When it is said that a verb occurs, this refers to a form with an inflectional suffix; otherwise 'verb' carries a modifier. A form must be inflected for it to function as a verb.

All root, stem and theme variations, and occurrences of independent suffixes take place before the inflection is added. After the verb inflection no further modification is permitted and only sentence suffixes may occur. All other classes of suffixes, verbal, substantive, or independent, do permit stem and/or theme modification.

2 Verb roots

Verb roots are primarily of the canonical form of two vowels, (C)VC(C)V. Morphophonemic variations are governed by the suffixes which follow (see Chapter IV). Most verb roots take a few derivational suffixes before the inflection (see Chapter VI). The important subclasses of verb roots will be the ethnosemantic classes on the basis of the corresponding substantive classes each root takes as a zero complement. Some work has been done in this area, but results are still in the primary stage. One important complicating factor is that the addition of derivational suffixes results in a stem which belongs to a class different from that to which the root belongs. For example, human/non-human is one of the most important distinctions in verb categories. Apaña 'to carry/take' is human subject/ non-human complement, irpaña 'take' is both human. Achuña 'to produce' is non-human on both sides; achuyaña 'to cause to produce' is human subject/ non-human complement. Usuña 'to hurt, to be ill' on the contrary, has a non-human actor/human complement. Sutichaña 'to nickname' has a non-human zero complement; sutiyaña 'to baptize' has both subject and complement as human. (These last two are both built on suti 'name' plus a derivational causative - one the human, one the non-human.) It might be noted, for complexity's sake, that in the third example, -ya made the subject human; in the last it made the complement human. At this point in the research, we can indicate parameters; specific classification will await further research. The two most important parameters are: 1) human vs. non-human, with four possibilities - both subject and complement need to be noted; 2) type of zero complement - e.g., in carry verbs shape of object determines verb; in food preparation, consistency of cooked food determines verb (not manner of applying heat, as in English). This can be readily determined by asking a zero complement question - kuns, k"its, kawks, etc.

2.1 Verbal Interrogative Roots

Of the superclass of interrogatives there are two which are specifically verbal interrogatives: Kamsaña 'to what say' and Kamachaña 'to what happen.' The first takes human complement and subject; the zero complement which answers the interrogative will ordinarily be an embedded quote (see 2.2 below).

Kams.itu.s jupa.x.	'What did he say to you?'
Iya.w si.s.tam.	'He said "OK" to me.'

Kamachaña takes a human complement/non-human subject; zero complement is rare. The answer is ordinarily a principal clause with an inflected verb, ranging over the whole of the language.

Kuna.s kama.ch.tam.	'What's the matter with you?/What happened to you?'
P'iqi.w us.utu.	'My head aches.'

2.2 Verbal embedding saña

The verb root sa- is of overriding importance in a consideration of Aymara. It is the only verb root with only one vowel; it is the only verb with any irregularity in its conjugation; it acts in many ways like an auxiliary and is essential to a number of verbal constructions.

Form: Many verbal inflections require a consonant preceding (see Chapter IV). When one of these occurs with saña, the result is an initial consonant cluster unacceptable in Aymara, e.g., sa- + a-ta > *sta. When this is the case, si- or ji- is preposed to the form, giving, e.g., sista or jista. The two forms are in free variation, the latter occurring more often in rapid speech or in contexts where its occurrence is readily predictable; the former in more specific or emphatic contexts. Some speakers, however, prefer one form or the other exclusively. The following is the resulting paradigm for the simple tense:

sissma ~ jissma	'I say to you'
sista	'you say to me'
si	'he says to her'
sista ~ jista	'I say to him/her/them'
sistan ~ jistan	'We say to him/her/them'
situ	'she says to me'
sistu	'she says to us'
sista ~ jista	'you say to him/her/them'
sistam ~ jistam	'she says to you'

Other cases where the rule will apply are, e.g.:

4→3D	sissna ~ jissna
3→3I	sispa ~ jispa
3→3 IF	sispacha ~ jispacha (and all forms with -pacha)
3→3 SP	sischi ~ jischi (and all forms with -chi)

Functions: The most common use of saña is for the construction of the reportive, which is a form or non-personal knowledge. For example, one cannot have personal knowledge of another's aches and pains; knowledge of such ordinarily comes from the other's statements: Aymara accurately reflects that fact. The reportive takes a person's words and reports them:

jupa.x ⟨iya.w⟩ sa.sa.w s.i 'He, speaking, said "OK".'

The subordinate is commonly used in this construction (see 4,11 below). Sentence suffixes follow particular patterns (see Chapter XII).[3]

The reportive construction, when the two persons in the verb inflection are one and the same, becomes a planning, thinking, wondering construction.

Thus, one talks to oneself and asks oneself questions and thus one works out plans.

Q"ar.üru.w ⟨sar.a.:⟩ si.s.t.wa.y.	'I was thinking of going tomorrow.'
Naya.x ⟨kuna.ru.ch sara.p.x.pach⟩ si.s.t.wa.y	'I was wondering why they would want to go.'

In these cases, the parallel subordinate is ordinarily omitted.

3 Inflectional suffixes

The forms are listed in charts VIIB, C, D. For morphophonemics, see Chapter IV.

The primary tenses have single morphemes, indivisible, for the totality of the components. Compound tenses consist of the forms from two or more of the primary tenses, resulting in a new formation. Because the combinations are not always entirely predictable (morphophonemics of Proto-Jaqi are probably involved), all paradigms are given in their entirety.

3.1 Primary tenses

The primary tenses divide into three groups by data source: personal knowledge, indirect knowledge, and non-realized. All of the primary tenses have unitary forms for the inflection, at least for 3→3p; in some of the tenses the tense-person breakdown can be seen in other than 3→3p. Basic among the primary tenses are the future and the non-future (simple) tenses.

3.11 Personal knowledge tenses

There are three: the simple, the future, and the near remote.

3.11.1 Simple tense

This tense has variously been called aorist, present/past, non-future. The time indicated stops with the present; only the realized or realizing may be included - all that can be or has been seen by the speaker may be included. The present and the past are considered to be in front of the speaker - seen.

The forms of this tense recur in various guises in many other tenses as the person markers.

The translation may be either present or past depending on the context. With no context bilinguals normally translate the forms as past.

1→2	${}_{n}$-sma${}_{v}$	nayax jumaru
2→1	${}_{n}$-ista${}_{v}$	jumax nayaru
3→3	${}_{n}$-i${}_{v}$	jupax juparu
1→3	${}_{n}$-ta${}_{n}$	nayax juparu
4→3	${}_{n}$-tan${}_{n}$	jiwasax juparu
3→1	${}_{n}$-itu${}_{v}$	jupax nayaru
3→4	${}_{n}$-istu${}_{v}$	jupax jiwasaru
2→3	${}_{n}$-ta${}_{v}$	jumax juparu
3→2	${}_{n}$-tam${}_{n}$	jupax jumaru

3.11.2 Future tense

The future is in back of one; nevertheless, this future is a plain time related tense - and the data source is personal. When using this tense the speaker is vouching for the future. It is widely used as a polite or softened command, or to persons with whom one may not use the imperative (e.g., a compadre). The future begins immediately; the present does not overlap at all. Thus, events to be realized even one minute from now will be in the future tense, e.g., a person standing in the doorway, halfway out, says sarxä 'I will go,' best translated as 'I'm going now.'

The distinctive feature of the future forms is nasal or long vowel.[4] These forms, as those of the simple , recur in compound tenses.

1→2	${}_{v}$-:ma${}_{v}$	nayax jumaru
2→1	${}_{n}$-itäta${}_{v}$	jumax nayaru
3→3	${}_{v}$-ni${}_{v}$	jupax juparu
1→3	${}_{v}$-:${}_{v}$	nayax juparu
4→3	${}_{v}$-ñani${}_{v}$	jiwasax juparu
3→1	${}_{n}$-itani${}_{v}$	jupax nayaru
3→4	${}_{n}$-istani${}_{v}$	jupax jiwasaru
2→3	${}_{v}$-:ta${}_{v}$	jumax juparu
3→2	${}_{v}$-:tam${}_{n}$	jupax jumaru

In some dialects, and some idiolects, ${}_{n}$\{-istani\}${}_{v}$ may occur as /-stani/, dropping the first vowel of the suffix· morphophonemics remain unchanged.

3.11.3 Near remote

The near remote has variously been called personal knowledge remote, personal remote, first hand knowledge remote. The shorter form, near remote, refers to closeness to speaker.

Remote. The two remotes split on the question of data source, but have some characteristics in common which must be discussed.

Both remotes are used for surprisals as well as for the long-gone-by. The data source distinction is maintained.

akankaskataynaw	So here they are!	(but I didn't put them there)
akankaskänwa	So here they are!	(I put them there - and had forgotten - but I did know, of course)

The person most commonly occurring with the remote is 3→3p. For this person there are specific forms in each of the two tenses.

There are not distinctive forms for all of the other persons. Also Aymara speakers find it a little hard to use non-personal knowledge for first person (one ought to know oneself) or for second person (you can ask on the spot) for either subject or complement.

For those persons where the person form in the simple tense begins with C, there are distinct forms. For those persons where the simple tense form begins with /i/, the forms are the same for both remotes; that is, there is distinction for 3→2, 1→3, 2→3, 4→3, 1→2 while 3→1, 3→4, and 2→1 are the same.

The non-specific forms involve reduplication based on the person form for the simple. The forumla is:

$$-i\ (s)\ \overset{u}{\underset{a}{t}}\ :\ (s)\ \overset{u}{\underset{a}{t}}$$

or more simply

$$-i(C_1)C_2V_2\colon\ (C_1)C_2V_2$$

3→1 -itütu

2→1 istästa

3→4 -istüstu

Both remotes are regularly translated with the pluperfect, a tense, which, in Bolivia, even in the Spanish of those for whom Spanish is the only tongue, is used as a surprisal.

Near remote. This tense is used for a distant past of which the speaker has personal recollection, for surprisal and/or contradictory situations, when the information was previously known.

The form for 3→3p, the most common by far, is -:na

jupa.^{w} chura.:na 'he had given it to her (I saw)'

The other persons for which there are specific forms are formed with $_{v}$-yä- plus the person suffix from the simple.

1→3 $_{v}$-yäta$_{n}$

1→2 $_{v}$-yäsma$_{v}$

2→3 $_{v}$-yäta$_{v}$

3→2 $_{v}$-yätam$_{n}$

4→3 $_{v}$-yätan$_{n}$

For complete paradigm, see Chart B, column 4.

3.12 Indirect knowledge

The tenses of indirect knowledge are three: far remote, inferential, and suppositional. The latter two are parallel to the simple in time; the first refers to a distant past. The information conveyed with these tenses may come from various sources - hearsay, reading, inferring from observation (e.g., it looks new), guessing, working from previous experience. They all contrast with that which one knows directly through one's own senses.

3.12.1 Far remote

This tense has variously been called hearsay remote, remote of non-personal knowledge, mythical remote. It is closely related to the near remote - paragraph 3.11.3 should be consulted for information covering both.

The far refers to distance as related to the speaker. The time is distant past. This tense is regularly used in tales, fables, mythical stories. It is also used in surprisal and/or contradictory situations where the speaker is stumbling onto information for the first time.

The tense occurs most frequently in the 3→3p. The form is unique to the person, but varies greatly dialectally. The following forms have been recorded:

$_v$-tayna$_v$

$_v$-täna$_v$

$_v$-täña$_v$

$_v$-taña$_v$

For the forms for persons where the suffix in the simple tense begins with /i/, see paragraph 3.11.3. For the other persons, the forms consist of $_v$-tä- plus the person suffix from the simple tense:

1→3 $_v$-täta$_n$

1→2 $_v$-täsma$_v$

2→3 $_v$-täta$_v$

3→2 $_v$-tätam$_n$

4→3 $_v$-tätan$_n$

For the complete paradigm, see Chart B, column 5.

The form is regularly translated by the Spanish pluperfect which, for virtually all bilinguals, is believed to reflect in Spanish non-personal knowledge.

3.12.2 Inferential

The information reflected with this tense is normally information gained by indirect evidence, a process of deduction. The likelihood of realization is quite high. The time is parallel to that of the simple tense.

Because of the proximity of first and second persons, 3→3p is again the most frequently occurring person, although this tense may be used, e.g., to scold a dilatory child, when the parent knows full well what the child has been up to (but did not see the child).

The form for 3→3p is $_n$-pacha , and is the distinctive feature of the tense.

1→2	$_n$-pachasma$_v$	nayax jumaru
2→1	$_n$-pachista$_v$	jumax nayaru
3→3	$_n$-pacha$_v$	jupax juparu
1→3	$_n$-pachata$_n$	nayax juparu
4→3	$_n$-pachatan$_n$	jiwasax juparu

3→1	$_n$-pachitu$_v$	jupax nayaru
3→4	$_n$-pachistu$_v$	jupax jiwasaru
2→3	$_n$-pachata$_v$	jumax juparu
3→2	$_n$-pachatam$_n$	jupax jumaru

This tense is usually translated with *quizá* or *a lo mejor* added to sentence. This often makes the bilingual Aymara sound suspicious and doubtful of everything. This is not the implication of the Aymara verb form.

3.12.3 Suppositional

This tense is also called the guesser or the conjectural. The information relayed by this tense is not based on any data in particular, but on a best guess basis. It is also used for that which no one can know (in the Aymara sense), e.g., the operations of a *k"ari-k"ari* (fat extractor).

The tense is syntactically limited: it is the only tense which may not occur in -sa or -ti questions; its presence in a sentence is a prerequisite to the use of the sentence suffix, -chim/-chix (see Chapter XI). It does not co-occur in any clause with the sentence suffix, *-wa* 'affirmative.' *Inasa* 'maybe' occurs frequently in sentences containing a suppositional.

As is the case with other non-personal knowledge tenses, because of the proximity of first and second persons, and therefore presumably of personal knowledge, the most common form is 3→3.

The suppositional is parallel to the simple tense in time. The form for 3→3 is $_n$-chi . This suffix is vulnerable to a particular type of phonological reduction (see Chapter IV) which gives rise to allomorphs of the form /s/, which, in turn, when geminate, may be reduced. Thus, e.g., apa 'to carry'+ $_n$-chi + $_n$-ta > * ap.ch.ta > apsta 'surely I carried,' which is homophonous with apa- + $_n$-su- 'out' +$_n$-ta apsta 'I took out,' the latter far more common. This kind of homophony further reduces the use of the tense for other than 3→3.

1→2	$_n$-chasma = -ssma$_v$	nayax jumaru
2→1	$_n$-chista$_v$	jumax nayaru
3→3	$_n$-chi$_v$	jupax juparu
1→3	$_n$-chta = -sta$_n$	nayax juparu
4→3	$_n$-chtan = -stan$_n$	jiwasax juparu
3→1	$_n$-chitu$_v$	jupax nayaru
3→4	$_n$-chistu$_v$	jupax jiwasaru
2→3	$_n$-chta = -sta$_v$	jumax juparu
3→2	$_n$-chtam = -stam$_n$	jupax jumaru

The form will usually be translated 'quizás' if there is an *inasa* in the sentence. Otherwise, the most typical translation is with 'seguro' or even 'sin duda,' both of which, of course, give the sentence an impact directly opposite to that of the meanings given for the forms in beginning Spanish courses. Sometimes the Spanish future tense is used (which is perceived by the Aymara bilingual as a dubitative, to be used for either the inferential or the suppositional) or, depending on the rest of the structure, with a subjunctive.

nina.chim jiwa.ra.sk.chi	'No se estará apagando el fuego.'
	'I'll bet the fire's going out.'

3.13 Non-realized tenses

These tenses are tied to volition, because, being unrealized, no type of knowledge is possible. There are two primary tenses - the imperative, in time a present, and the desiderative, a future - treated here; a third, the remonstrator, a past, is treated in 3.22 below.

3.13.1 Imperative

The imperative in Aymara shows a complete paradigm of nine persons. Four are homophonous with the future (1→3, 4→3, 1→2, and optionally 3→2). However, the use of these forms as imperatives is clearly marked syntactically: the subject of an imperative carries no sentence suffix and drops the final vowel as the mark of an imperative sentence. Compare

nay sarä	'Let me go.'
jum saram	'You go.'
nayaw sarä	'I will go.'
jumaw saräta	'You will go.'

Also, the sentence suffix -ya is common in imperative sentences. The imperative alone is a very strong form, not to be used lightly, especially to a second person. The sentence given as example, jum saram, would only be said to a person over whom the speaker has power, e.g., a parent to his child. Certain respect ties preclude the use of the imperative (the future is substituted), e.g., between compadres. Between adults in general, any imperative will be softened with the use of sentence suffixes (see Chapter XII).

The forms for the imperative are distinctive; characteristic are /m/ with second person and /p/ with third person. Although the forms as such do not enter into explicit compounds, it is possible to recognize their kinship with those of the other non-realized tenses.

1→2	$_{v}$-:ma	nayax jumaru
2→1	$_{v}$-ita	jumax nayaru
3→3	$_{n}$-pa	jupax juparu
1→3	$_{v}$-:	nayax juparu
4→3	$_{v}$-ñani	jiwasax juparu
3→1	$_{v}$-itpa	jupax nayaru
3→4	$_{v}$-istpa	jupax jiwasaru
2→3	$_{v}$-m	jumax juparu
3→2	$_{v}$-:tpa(n) or $_{v}$-:tam	jupax jumaru

When the persons are other than 2→3 or 2→1, it is very difficult to translate the imperative. In Spanish, que plus a subjunctive is used; in English, we use let. Neither are very satisfactory, nor do they reflect the primary nature of the Aymara imperative.

3.13.2 Desiderative

This tense has also been called the contrary-to-fact present. The desiderative expresses a desire for something that isn't, at least not yet. It is also extensively used for advice, admonitions and recommendations. The force of the tense is always a positive emotive one on the part of the subject or the complement expressed in the person suffix, or both. The time of the tense is future.

jaqi.ru.rak ach.ja.ya.s.ka.sma	"Be careful you don't let them bite people.'
jani.w k"uchi.mp ana.k.irist.ti	'I'd rather not herd the pigs.'

The distinctive feature of desiderative forms is /s/. The forms appear to be highly irregular, as do those of the remonstrator, built on the desiderative.[5]

1→2	$_{n}$-irisma$_{v}$	nayax jumaru
2→1	$_{n}$-itasma$_{v}$	jumax nayaru
3→3	$_{n}$-spa$_{v}$	jupax juparu
1→3	$_{n}$-irista$_{n}$	nayax juparu
4→3	$_{n}$-sna$_{v}$	jiwasax juparu
3→1	$_{n}$-itaspa$_{v}$(n)	jupax nayaru
3→4	$_{n}$-(i)staspa$_{v}$(n)	jupax jiwasaru

2→3	$_{v}$-sma$_{n}$	jumax juparu
3→2	$_{n}$-iristam$_{n}$	jupax jumaru

This tense is translated in numerous ways depending on the person - no category has been seen to correspond very closely. In Spanish the conditional or the past subjunctive are most frequently used, but as principal verbs, rather unlike the typical Spanish structure. Other translations will be 'I would like to ...' 'You should ...' 'I want X to ...' 'It would be nice if ...'

3.2 Compound tenses

The compound tenses are formed by combining two or more of the primary tenses resulting in a new tense. There are three types - the remonstrator, which combines the desiderative and the near remote; the inferential compounds which combine the inferential with the future, and the remote; and the suppositional compounds, which combine the suppositional with the desiderative, future, remote and remonstrator.

3.2.1 Remonstrator

This tense has also been called the scolder, the past contrary-to-fact, and the recriminator. It is primarily used for lamenting the past, and 2→3p is the most common form used - hence the name of the tense. The emotive impact of this tense is always negative.

aymar yati.qa.samäna 'you should have learned Aymara'

The remonstrator is formed with the desiderative plus the near remote suffix -:na . However, because the forms of the desiderative today reflect in a frozen fashion morphophonemic patterning no longer productive in the language, the forms of the remonstrator are not easy to predict. Again, the apparent irregularity of the paradigm is seen in a parallel fashion.

1→2	$_{n}$-iriskasamäna$_{n}$	nayax jumaru
2→1	$_{n}$-itasamäna$_{n}$	jumax nayaru
3→3	$_{v}$-sapäna$_{n}$	jupax juparu
1→3	$_{n}$-iriskäta$_{n}$	nayax juparu
4→3	$_{v}$-sana$_{n}$	jiwasax juparu
3→1	$_{n}$-itasapäna$_{n}$	jupax nayaru
3→4	$_{n}$-(i)st$\overset{u}{a}$sapäna$_{n}$	jupax jiwasaru
2→3	$_{v}$-samäna$_{n}$	jumax juparu
3→2	$_{n}$-iriskatamäna$_{n}$	jupax jumaru

The usual translation in Spanish is either hubieras or deberías (or other person); in English, (you) should have.

It is interesting to note that these two related forms, the desiderative and the remonstrator, are opposites emotively - future hope and desire vs. the dashing of those hopes and desires into recrimination.

3.22 Inferential compounds

The inferential may co-occur with the forms of the future and of the near remote. The forms of the future are quite common; those of the remote less so. Again, as with all non-personal knowledge, the forms of 3→3 predominate.

1→2	$_{n}$-pachäma$_{v}$	$_{n}$-pachayäsma$_{v}$
2→1	$_{n}$-pachitäta$_{v}$	$_{n}$-pachïsta$_{v}$
3→3	$_{n}$-pacnani$_{v}$	$_{n}$-pachäna$_{n}$
1→3	$_{n}$-pachä$_{v}$	$_{n}$-pachayäta$_{n}$
4→3	$_{n}$-pachañani$_{v}$	$_{n}$-pachayätan$_{n}$
3→1	$_{n}$-pachitani$_{v}$	$_{n}$-pachitäna$_{n}$
3→4	$_{n}$-pachistani$_{v}$	$_{n}$-pachistäna$_{n}$
2→3	$_{n}$-pachäta$_{v}$	$_{n}$-pachayäta$_{v}$
3→2	$_{n}$-pachätam$_{n}$	$_{n}$-pachayätam$_{n}$

jupa.w chur.pacha.ni 'Surely he will give it to her'

jupa.w chur.pacha.:na 'Surely he gave it to her'

Typical translations will use 'maybe' 'surely' 'doubtless.'

3.23 Suppositional compounds

The suppositional may combine with the future, the near remote, the far remote,. the desiderative, and the remonstrator. The forms with the future are the most common. Again, as before, the 3→3 is the most common. The same syntactic restrictions apply to the compounds that apply to the primary form.

tata yapita.x tuktura.:.sk.chi.ni.chim

'looks like Mr. Yapita is going to be "doctor".'

CHART VII.1 SUPPOSITIONAL COMPOUND TENSES

	future suppositional	far remote suppositional	near remote suppositional	desiderative suppositional	remonstrator suppositional
1→2	$_n$-chīma$_v$	$_n$-chitäsma$_v$	$_n$-chiyäsma$_v$	$_n$-chīrisma$_v$	$_n$-iriskchisamäna$_n$
2→1	$_n$-chini$_v$	$_n$-chistāsta$_v$	$_n$-chiyästa$_v$	$_n$-chitasma$_v$	$_n$-chitasamäna$_n$
3→3	$_n$-chini$_v$	$_n$-chitayna$_v$	$_n$-chīna$_v$	$_n$-chispa(n)	$_n$-chisapäna$_n$
1→3	$_n$-chī$_v$	$_n$-chitäta$_n$	$_n$-chiyäta$_n$	$_n$-chī$_v$	$_n$-iriskchīta$_n$
4→3	$_n$-chiñani$_v$	$_n$-chitätan$_n$	$_n$-chiyätan$_n$	$_n$-chsna(n)= $_n$-ssna(n)	$_n$-chisana$_n$
3→1	$_n$-chitani$_v$	$_n$-chitütu$_v$	$_n$-chitäna$_n$	$_n$-chitaspa(n)	$_n$-chitasapäna$_n$
3→4	$_n$-chistani$_v$	$_n$-chistüstu$_v$	$_n$-chistäna$_n$	$_n$-chistaspa(n)	$_n$-chistasapäna$_n$
2→3	$_n$-chīta$_v$	$_n$-chitäta$_v$	$_n$-chiyäta$_v$	$_n$-chisma$_v$	$_n$-chisamära$_n$
3→3	$_n$-chītam$_n$	$_n$-chitätam$_n$	$_n$-chiyätam$_n$	$_n$-chitam$_n$	$_n$-iriskchitamäna$_n$

These forms are translated with the future, particles like 'quizá' 'seguro' 'a lo mejor' 'sin duda' by subjunctives and conditionals.

inas naya.x ch'uq ala.n.irisk.chi.:ta

'maybe I would've bought potatoes if you'd only told me.'

3.3 Inflectional distinctive features

Although it is not possible to divide the suffixes of the primary tenses into morphemes, there are some recurrent partials that can be seen as distinctive features marking particular semantic aspects included in the designation of the tense person. These are all features of the Aymara system, and in fact, underscore some of the postulates described in Chapter II and some of the particular tense contrasts of the inflectional suffixes.

Person markers. Basically, third person is unmarked, either as subject or object. The simple tense suffix /-i/ is easily absorbed and/or omitted, and looks quite obviously like an occurrence of the suffix marking vowel. Quite obviously, the 3→3 forms of the remotes, the inferential and the suppositional mark tense only - *vide* their incorporation in the other persons and in the compounds. The non-realized tenses do bear a third person mark: /-p/ or /-pa/. This is also the characteristic mark of 3p in the noun system.

The second person, on the other hand, is overmarked. Features which mark 2p are three: -ta in the simple; -m in the non-realized and some other places, especially as complement, and long vowel, particularly when joined to one of the other marks. Thus, in the simple, in every form in which 2p participates, as either subject or complement, 2p is marked; in 3→2 it is marked twice, and 3p isn't marked at all, viz.:

1→2	-sma,	2nd marked (s unique to this form)
2→1	-ista	2nd marked (for this s see below)
2→3	-ta	2nd marked, third is not
3→2	-tam	2nd marked twice

In the imperative 3→2, the Aymara speaker may choose to mark both persons (-itpa(n)) or to mark second twice (-tam). Note that in the 3→2 future, 2p is marked thrice, and 3p not at all: -:tam.

Characteristic of 4p as complement is an interpolated /s/ over the corresponding form for 1p. Note the pairs across the page of the inflectional charts of 3→1 and 3→4. With 2p as subject, however, 1p and 4p fell together in form, and 4p semantically fell out, which gives the set across the page for 2→1, where the old /s/ belonging to 4p appears intermittently (see footnote 2 to Chapter I).

The feature for 1p as complement is generally -it; as subject -ta, with regular vowel drop.

A nasal characterizes 4p as subject, plus -ta for non-future realized and -sa for non-realized.

Tense features. The simple is characterized by bearing no tense mark. The future is marked with nasal and/or long vowel. The imperative is marked by features otherwise characteristic of the noun system. The desiderative is marked by /s/.

The elements mentioned in this section, it must be stressed, are features, not forms in and of themselves; the primary suffixes are unitary. What the features do bring out are: the salience of 2p at the expense of 3p, the future vs. non-future tense contrast and the realized vs. non-realized tense contrast.

4 Subordinate and defective forms

Subordinating suffixes reduce an inflected verb form, capable of being a sentence with the use of sentence suffixes, to a dependent form. If person is shown at all, a maximum of four persons is shown.

One subordinator, of great importance, maintains all nine persons and embeds complete sentences maintaining clause structure such that more than one -wa may occur in a sentence. This is saña already discussed above in 2.2. It is further discussed in Chapter XII. The reportive subordinator is not parallel to those discussed in this section. Indeed, a regular part of the reportive subordinator is sasa, a subordinated form of saña with the inflected form with the embedded sentence. The subordinates are treated in the inflectional section because they subordinate inflected forms. Strictly speaking, however, they are not inflected forms because the independents occur after the subordinating suffixes.

4.1 Subordinating verb suffixes

The subordinating suffixes are of two types - general and purposive. Only one of the purposives shows person.

4.11 The suffixes of general subordination are ${}_{v}$-sa$_{v}$, ${}_{v}$-sina$_{n}$, and ${}_{n}$-ipan$_{n}$; the first two are common, the third quite rare.

Although interchangeability between -sa and -sina is often accepted, they are not the same suffix; translations are similar. The difference lies in the relative amount of personal knowledge of the matter reported in the subordinate clause. The use is not necessarily tied to the form of the main inflected verb even when there is one, although in myths, tales, etc., -sina is the regular subordinator and the far remote the inflected tense. In line with this distinction, -sina does not take -wa affirmative; -sa regularly does. -sa occurs with the reportive, and the report itself, the subordinating verb, is personal knowledge (the quoted verb is not). -sina tends to occur with futures and projected events. /-ipan/ occurs very little. It is used only when the subjects of the two clauses are not the same person, but it is not required in such circumstances. One regular use is for the so-called comparative - which itself is very rare and considered rude at best.

utamax s.ipan.s uta.xa.x jiwaki.wa 'Speaking of your house (now changing the subject), my house is nice.' i.e. 'My house is nicer than yours.'

jut.xa.sin illimani q"ipa.xa.na ik.ja.tayna
'Upon returning he fell asleep behind Illimani.' (no personal knowledge on part of speaker)

jupa.w taqi.t s.ipan.sa aymar ar tuqi.t.xa nayra.n.ki 'He is always ahead of everybody in speaking Aymara.' i.e. 'Speaking of him out of all the others, about Aymara he is ahead.'

4.12 Purposive subordinates

There are two subordinates which turn an inflected verb into the purpose of another inflected verb. They contrast in the scope of the purpose: $_n$-iri focuses on a narrow purpose, $_v$-ñataki opens up to wider horizons, -ñataki, in essence a nominal construction, may show the four nominal persons; -iri does not show person.

Sisku.x away p"irya.n al.i Susana.r chura.ña.taki
'Sisco brought a cloth at market to give to Susan.'

Sisku.x p"iry sar.i away al.iri.
'Sisco went to market to buy cloth.'

4.2 Defective principal verbs

Forms which may act as principal verbs but which do not participate in the regular 9p verb system are considered, from the inflectional point of view, defective. They are of two types - one derived from substantive, one derived from verbs. As is the case with subordinates, these structures are basically nominal.

4.21 Verbs from verbalization

Noun roots and stems verbalized with either -:- or -ka-, existential and processal verbalizers, may act as inflected verbs, but they take only three persons - using the three forms of 2>3, 4>3 and 1>3. 3p is an unmarked person; in the cases of the defective verbs, there is no verb form for 3p unless a specific tense is to be marked or a derivational suffix is to be used. The defective verbs, however, cannot take derivational suffixes from Set I (see Chapter VI).

akankasktwa	'I am here.'
Juwanti Mamani:twa	'I am Juan Mamani.'

4.22 Obligatory

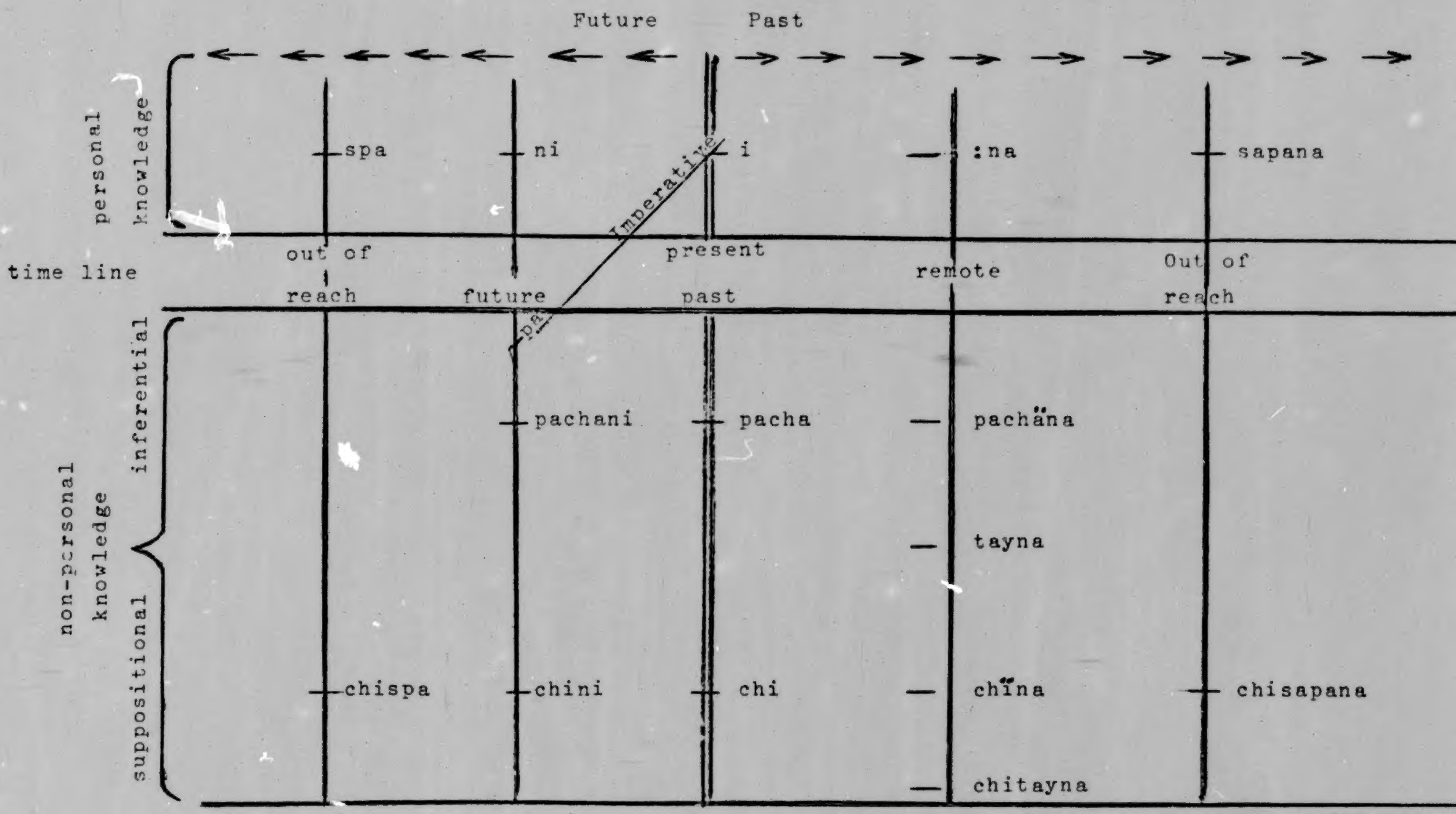
The obligatory acts like an inflected form, but takes only four persons. These are, furthermore, the nominal forms: the obligatory is basically a possessive nominal construction on the infinitive form derived from a verb root or stem. The personal pronoun, if stated, takes the -na of possession.

naya.n qillqa.ña.xa.w	'I've got to write.'

Chart VII A

VERBAL TENSE BY TIME AND DATA SOURCE

Time is indicated horizontally; data source is indicated vertically. The Imperative is a third dimension. The corresponding suffix is given in the 3→3 form.


Future
Past
personal knowledge
time line
non-personal knowledge
inferential
suppositional
out of reach
future
present past
remote
Out of reach
spa
ni
i
:na
sapana
Imperative
pa
pachani
pacha
pachäna
tayna
chispa
chini
chi
chïna
chisapana
chitayna

VERBAL INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES FORM CHART

Chart VII.B

	SIMPLE	FUTURE	IMPERATIVE	PERSONAL REMOTE	HEARSAY REMOTE	DESIDERATIVE	REMONSTRATOR	INFERENTIAL
1 → 2	n-sma$_{v}$	v-"ma	v-"ma$_{v}$	v-yäsma$_{v}$	v-täsma$_{v}$	n-irisma$_{v}$	n-iriskasamäna$_{n}$	n-pachäsma$_{v}$
2 → 1	n-ista$_{v}$	n-itäta	n-ita$_{v}$	n-istästa$_{v}$	v-istästa$_{v}$	n-itasma$_{v}$	n-itasamäna$_{n}$	n-pachista$_{v}$
3 → 3	n-i$_{v}$	v-ni	n-pa$_{v}$	v-"na$_{n}$	v-teynu$_{v}$	v-spa$_{v}$	v-sapäna$_{n}$	n-pacha$_{v}$
1 → 3	n-ta$_{n}$	v-"	v-"$_{v}$	v-yäta$_{n}$	v-täta$_{n}$	n-irista$_{n}$	n-iriskäta$_{n}$	n-pachäta$_{n}$
4 → 3	n-tan$_{n}$	v-ñani	v-ñani$_{v}$	v-yätan$_{n}$	v-tätan$_{n}$	n-sna$_{v}$	v-sana$_{n}$	n-pachätan$_{n}$
3 → 1	n-itu$_{v}$	n-itani	n-itpa$_{v}$	n-itütu$_{v}$	n-itütu$_{v}$	n-itaspa(n)	n-itasapäna$_{n}$	n-pachitu$_{v}$
3 → 4	n-istu$_{v}$	n-istani	n-istpa$_{v}$	n-istüstu$_{v}$	n-istüstu$_{v}$	n-(i)st$\underset{u}{\tilde{a}}$spa(n)	n-(i)st$\overset{u}{\underset{a}{\sim}}$sapäna$_{n}$	n-pachistu$_{v}$
2 → 3	n-ta$_{v}$	v-"ta	v-m$_{n}$	v-yäta$_{v}$	v-täta$_{v}$	v-sma$_{v}$	v-samäna$_{n}$	n-pachäta$_{v}$
3 → 2	n-tam$_{n}$	v-"tam	v-:t$\dfrac{\text{pa}}{\text{am}_{n}}$(n)	v-yätam$_{n}$	v-tätam$_{n}$	n-iris$\underset{\widetilde{\text{pa}}\text{(n)}}{\underset{\sim}{\text{tam}_{n}}}$	n-iriskatamäna$_{n}$	n-pachätam$_{n}$

VERBAL INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES FORM CHART CONT.

	SUPPOSITIONAL	FUTURE SUPPOSITIONAL	REMOTE SUPPOSITIONAL	DESIDERATIVE SUPPOSITIONAL	REMONSTRATOR SUPPOSITIONAL	FUTURE INFERENTIAL
1 → 2	$_n$-chsma$_v$ = $_n$-ssma$_v$	$_n$-chīma$_v$	$_n$-chi$\underbrace{\text{tä}}_{\text{yä}}sma_v$	$_n$-chirisma$_v$	$_n$-iriskchisamäna$_n$	$_n$-pachäma$_v$
2 → 1	$_n$-chista$_v$	$_n$-chitäta$_v$	$_n$-chistästa$_v$ $_n$-chiyästa$_v$	$_n$-chitasma$_v$	$_n$-chitasamäna$_n$	$_n$-pachitäta$_v$
3 → 3	$_n$-chi$_v$	$_n$-chini$_v$	$_n$-chitayna$_v$ $_n$-chīna$_n$	$_n$-chispa(n)	$_n$-chisapäna$_n$	$_n$-pachani$_v$
1 → 3	$_n$-chta$_n$ = $_n$-sta$_n$	$_n$-chī$_v$	$_n$-chi$\underbrace{\text{tä}}_{\text{yä}}ta_n$	$_n$-chī$_v$	$_n$-iriskchīta$_n$	$_n$-pachä$_v$
4 → 3	$_n$-chtan$_n$ = $_n$-stan$_n$	$_n$-chiñani$_v$	$_n$- chi$\underbrace{\text{tä}}_{\text{yä}}tan_n$	$_n$-chsna(n) = $_n$-ssna(n)	$_n$-chisana$_n$	$_n$-pachañani$_v$
3 → 1	$_n$-chitu$_v$	$_n$-chitani$_v$	$_n$-ch$\left<\begin{array}{l}\text{itütu}_v\\ \text{itäna}_n\end{array}\right.$	$_n$-chitaspa(n)	$_n$-chitasapäna$_n$	$_n$-pachitani$_v$
3 → 4	$_n$-chistu$_v$	$_n$-chistani$_v$	$_n$-ch$\left<\begin{array}{l}\text{istüstu}_v\\ \text{istäna}_n\end{array}\right.$	$_n$-chistaspa(n)	$_n$-chistasapäna$_n$	$_n$-pachistani$_v$
2 → 3	$_n$-chta$_v$ = $_n$-sta$_v$	$_n$-chīta$_v$	$_n$-chi$\underbrace{\text{tä}}_{\text{yä}}ta_v$	$_n$-chisma$_v$	$_n$-chisamäna$_n$	$_n$-pachäta$_v$
3 → 2	$_n$-chtam$_n$ = $_n$-stam$_n$	$_n$-chītam$_n$	$_n$-chi$\underbrace{\text{tä}}_{\text{yä}}tam_n$	$_n$-chitam$_n$	$_n$-iriskchitamäna$_n$	$_n$-pachätam$_n$

VERBAL INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES FORM CHART CONT. (2)

	REMOTE INFERENTIAL	OBLIGATORY	PURPOSIVE
1 → 2	$_n$-pachayäsma$_v$	$_v$-ñaxa	$_v$-ñayataki
2 → 1	$_n$-pachīsta$_v$	$_v$-ñama	$_v$-ñamataki
3 → 3	$_n$-pachäna$_n$	$_v$-ñapa	$_v$-ñapataki
1 → 3	$_n$-pachayäta$_n$	$_v$-ñasa	$_v$-ñasataki
4 → 3	$_n$-pachayätan$_n$	$_v$-ñächi	
3 → 1	$_n$-pachit		
3 → 4	$_n$-pachist		
2 → 3	$_n$-pachayäta$_v$		
3 → 2	$_n$-pachayätam$_n$		

SUBORDINATE FORMS NOT PERSON MARKED

$_v$-sa$_v$	$_n$-iri
$_v$-sina$_v$	$_v$-ñataki
$_n$-ipan$_n$	

FOOTNOTES

[1] Lack of specification of plural does not result in a singular, although such translations will always be given by bilinguals. It is not uncommon to find bilinguals, particularly those with some schooling, who will insist that lack of derivational -p- plus derivational aspect means singular. Such translations, in a bilingual setting, may (and often are) insisted upon. Such speakers may even be capable of transferring the Spanish pattern into Aymara through loan translation - certainly the radio broadcasters who give the commercials have done so. It is instructive, therefore, to observe the Spanish of bilinguals in unguarded moments or at times when the message is more important than the form: from the Spanish point of view number errors are numerous; inconsistencies frequent. It has also been the observation of the researchers that, when listening to Spanish where number is indeed marked, difficulty in remembering the mark is frequently experienced. In many cases, as on objects or numbers, to use the plural suffix is simple wrong. For verb inflectional persons, when the derivational plural does occur, the result is, from the Indo-European point of view, ambiguous - the subject or the complement or both may be pluralized. It is conceivable that, over time, a new category become obligatory in Aymara through pressure from the dominant culture. Certainly teachers and all others are doing their best; all of the pedagogical grammars mentioned in Chapter I spend endless units and much exercise time drilling what they call singular vs. plural - with three or four of the nine verb persons and nary a mention of data source. The prestige and power of these groups, missionary, usually foreign, and rich, can induce attempted imitation. It has induced an ideal compliance - ask a bilingual and he'll produce all the singulars and plurals you wish on the spot. Observation, listening, tapes of older monolinguals, transference patterns, have all convinced the editor-in-chief of this grammar that the category remains today optional in Aymara.

[2] It is interesting to observe that the two sister languages of Aymara consider ten interactions possible. Jaqaru has ten verb forms. Kawki has only nine, but the semantic interaction is readily possible. Aymara speakers deny the semantic possibility. Kawki has lost the appropriate form - Aymara has lost the form Kawki kept; it kept the form for the meaning it lost and gave it the meaning of the lost form. The interactions in question are: 2→1 and 2→4. Simple tense Jaqaru: 2→1 -uta; 2→4 -usta; Kawki: 2→1 -ita; 2→4 -ita; Aymara: 2→1 -ista; 2→4 missing (see Hardman, M. J., "Reconstruction of Jaqi Personal Verbal Suffixes," American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, November 1969, New Orleans).

[3] These grammatical obligations tend to make the Aymara very much aware of how one obtains information, and, specifically, the words of another. It is not unusual to listen to lengthy accounts of conversations or meetings where virtually every word will be reported verbatim, less the deleted sentence suffixes as explained in Chapter XII.

[4] Historically, the long vowel developed from a nasal syllable (usually -ma) some dialects of Aymara preserve some of the nasal syllables, others, not yet heard by those of this team, are reported to conserve even more. The sister languages have maintained all of them.

[5] Current work in proto-jaqi indicates that this paradigm is the result of the collapse of two earlier paradigms.

[6] If one wants to be rude, boastful and challenging, it is better to do it with -raki (see Chapter X).

CHAPTER VIII

STRUCTURE OF THE SUBSTANTIVE SYSTEM

0. Introduction*

0.1 Sources and Texts

The authors of the texts on which the research for this chapter is based are two native speakers of Aymara who have collaborated in the preparation of the Aymara teaching materials: Ms. Juana Vasquez and Mr. Juan de Dios Yapita, Bolivian citizens from Tiwanaku and Qumpi respectively. The texts were discussed with them extensively, using Spanish and to a lesser extent English as contact languages. Mr. Pedro Copana, another native speaker of Aymara from Qumpi, also helped in the final research. The research period extended from the spring of 1971 through the spring of 1972.

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* The research for this chapter was made possible by the interest of my three Aymara colleagues, Ms. Juana Vasquez, Mr. Juan de Dios Yapita, and Mr. Pedro Copana, who welcomed my inquiries into Aymara substantive morphology and were in a real sense collaborators in the discovery. We have all worked under the dynamic guidance of Dr. M. J. Hardman-de-Bautista; it was she who suggested that I do this study and encouraged me to its completion.

I wish also to express my deep appreciation for the financial support which has enabled me to pursue this research: First, to the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which supported me as a graduate assistant on the Aymara Language Materials Project in 1970, and second, to the National Science Foundation, which has

The texts used for this chapter are 1) a short description of a woven Aymara purse and of an original Aymara drawing, and an account of a movie about a little boy and a goldfish; 2) the materials prepared for the Aymara Basic Course (*Aymara Ar Yaticañataki*) at the University of Florida; and 3) the February and March 1971 issues of the Aymara *Newsletter*.

The chapter draws on earlier work in Aymara at the University of Florida, notably that of England (Chapter VI) and the initial morphological analysis of Barber (1970), under the supervision of the Aymara project director, Dr. M. J. Hardman-de-Bautista.

0.2 Methodology

This chapter follows a structural model of linguistic description as suggested in Nida (1946).

0.3 The Aymara Sentence

Although a complete description of Aymara syntax is beyond the scope of this chapter, a brief summary will be given here, as an understanding of Aymara substantive morphology requires a basic understanding of the Aymara sentence. Defined by syntactic suffixes whose distribution determines its nature (see Chapter XII), the Aymara sentence does not require an inflected verb, but it does require at least one syntactic suffix and if there is no inflected verb, at least one substantive construction or particle. The syntactic suffix may be obligatorily deleted in certain circumstances: there may be no overt syntactic suffixes in certain sentences, leaving only a substantive or verb or particle.

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awarded me graduate fellowships for 1971-72 and 1972-73.

Finally, I am grateful to the Center for Latin American Studies of the University of Florida for the administrative support which I have received in the course of this research; and to Ms. Olene Rose, who typed the manuscript of this chapter.

A nominalized verb with a syntactic suffix is one kind of sentence in Aymara. An example is:

Sara.ña.xa.w. 'I have to go.'

sara-	verb root 'go'
-ña	nominalizing suffix (2.12.2)
-xa	first person possessive suffix (3.13)
-wa	syntactic suffix

Another type of sentence without a verb consists of one or more substantives or substantive phrases, each with a syntactic suffix. In this type of sentence, the subject is either an inanimate object, an animal, or a third person human being:

Inanimate object:

Misa.x jach'a.wa. 'The table is big.'

misa	'table'
-xa	syntactic suffix
jach'a	'big'
-wa	syntactic suffix

Animal: Anu.x jisk'a.wa. 'The dog is small.'

anu	'dog'
jisk'a	'small'

Third person human: Jupa.x naya.n tata.xa.wa. 'He is my father.'

jupa	'he'
-xa	syntactic suffix
-na	possessive/locational (3.21.5)
tata	'father'
-xa	1st person possessive (3.13)
-wa	syntactic suffix

Another type of sentence is one having an inflected verb. (See Chapters II, VI, and VII for a description of the Aymara verb inflection suffix.) If there is an inflected verb in a sentence, the subject and complement persons are expressed in the verb inflection suffix and need not be further specified by means of substantives in the sentence. That is, it is syntactically redundant and semantically unnecessary to express the subject or complement persons of the verb by means of free forms in the sentence.[1] They may be so expressed, and if so the complements are marked by appropriate Class II relational suffixes. These relational suffixes may also serve to mark the relations of other substantives (human and non-human) to the verb stem or to some other part of the sentence. (See 3.21).

1. Substantive Root Classes

Substantive roots are free and take substantive suffixes, none of which are inflectional. The four main subclasses of substantive roots are Nominals, Pronominals, Substantive Interrogatives, and a Negative. There is also a small subclass of ambiguous substantive/verb roots and stems.

Nominals are further subdivided into an open class of nouns, and a closed class of positionals and numbers. Pronominals are subclassified into personal pronouns and demonstratives. The subclasses of substantive roots are primarily defined by the limitations on the suffixes they may take, but also by syntactic criteria.

Substantive suffixes added to substantive roots form substantive stems. Verb roots and stems which have been substantivized are substantive themes. Most substantive roots, stems, and themes may be verbalized to become verb themes. All substantive roots, stems, and themes may take independent and syntactic suffixes.

In the following descriptions of each substantive root class, they may be assumed to take all substantive suffixes except those specifically cited as non-occurring for the class.

1.1 Nominals are subclassified into an open class of nouns and a closed class of numbers and positionals.[2] Except for maya 'one' (which acts in some respects like a demonstrative, and will take the locational suffix -sa) nominals do not take the locational suffixes -sa or -kata (3.11). They are distinguished from other substantive roots syntactically in that they readily enter into phrases as either modifiers or heads, whereas other root substantives occurring in phrases occur primarily as modifiers. (See 4.21).

1.11 Open Subclass of Nominals - Nouns

This class admits loanwords. Those referring to color, size, shape, temperature, etcetera frequently occur as modifiers in phrases.

1.12 Closed Subclass of Nominals - Positional Roots and Numbers

This class does not admit loanwords. Apart from their obvious difference in meaning, positional roots are distinguished from numbers morphologically and syntactically.

1.12.1 Positional roots refer to spatial orientation, both real and metaphorical. There are six:

anqa	'outside'	pata	'top, altiplano'
chiqa	'straight(ness), truth'	q"ipa	'behind, future'
manq"a	'inside, valley'	taypi	'middle'

Positional roots do not take -V:- verbalizer. They often occur in compounds with each other or with nouns.

The locational suffix -tuqi 'around' has occurred once as a free root,[3] and its morphophonemics are like those of free roots (see 3.11.5), but for reasons given in 4.21.21, it is classed as a suffix.

- 1.12.2 Numbers
  - 1.12.21 Digits
  - 1.12.22 Compounders
  - 1.12.23 Formation of other numbers
    - 1.12.23.1 Multiples
    - 1.12.23.2 11 - 19 etc.
  - 1.12.24 Counting and Adding
    - 1.12.24.1 Counting
    - 1.12.24.2 Adding
  - 1.12.25 Numbers as Referential Pronouns
    - 1.12.25.1 Human reference
    - 1.12.25.2 Non-human reference
  - 1.12.26 Irregular Allomorphs
    - 1.12.26.1 Counting
    - 1.12.26.2 Referential pronouns
      - 1.12.26.21 Human reference
      - 1.12.26.22 Non-human reference
    - 1.12.26.3 Modifiers

1.12.2 Numbers

Numbers do not take the locational suffix -tuqi nor the personal possessive suffixes. They may serve as modifiers or as heads, in phrases. (See 4.21.) The basic Aymara numbers are given below. They constitute a decimal system with Aymara terms up to 999,999; after that, the Spanish loanword milyuna 'million' may be used together with the Aymara numbers.

1.12.21 Digits

maya ~ ma: ~ may- [4]	one
paya ~ pa: ~ pay- ~ pani- [4]	two
kimsa	three
pusi	four
p"isqa	five
suxta	six
paqallqu	seven
kimsaqallqu	eight
llatunka	nine

1.12.22 Compounders

tunka	ten
pataka	one hundred
waranqa	one thousand
milyuna	one million

1.12.23 Other numbers are formed as follows.

1.12.23.1 Multiples of compounders (ten, one hundred, one thousand) and of lesser numbers are formed by the following formula: (Parentheses indicate optionality.)

$$\text{(Digit 2-9)}\ \left(\begin{Bmatrix}\text{tunka}\\ \text{pataka}\end{Bmatrix}\right)\text{(waranqa)}$$

Expanded, this formula may be written as

$$\underset{1}{\pm\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{pa:}\\ \text{kimsa}\\ \text{pusi}\\ \text{p"isqa}\\ \text{suxta}\\ \text{paqallqu}\\ \text{kimsaqallqu}\\ \text{llatunk}\end{matrix}\right\}}\ \underset{2}{\pm\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{tunka}\\ \\ \text{pataka}\end{matrix}\right\}}\ \underset{3}{\pm\ \text{waranqa}} = \begin{matrix}\text{Product of}\\ 1,\ 2,\ 3\end{matrix}$$

Examples of multiple numbers produced by this formula are

pa: tunka 2 x 10 = 20	pa: pataka 2 x 100 = 200
pa: waranqa 2 x 1,000 = 2,000	tunka waranqa 10 x 1,000 = 10,000
pa: tunk[5] waranqa 2 x 10 x 1,000 = 20,000	patak[5] waranqa 100 x 1,000 = 100,000
pa: patak[5] waranqa 2 x 100 x 1,000 = 200,000	

1.12.23.2

Numbers from 11 to 19, 21 to 29, and so on are formed by the suffixation of -ni possessor/enumerator (3.12) to each digit that is not the multiplier of a compound number. Examples of numbers with -ni on the digits are:

tunka maya.ni 11

pa: tunka paya.ni 21

kimsa patak pa: tunka maya.ni 321

pusi waranq kimsa patak pa: tunka maya.ni 4,321

p"isqa tunk pusi.n waranq kimsa patak pa: tunka maya.ni 54,321

The suffix -ni may also occur on one or more compounders in the number, except the first and the highest in the number. If all the possible and required -ni's are included in the number 221,221, it is rendered as

pa: patak pa: tunka.n maya.n waranq pa: pataka.n pa: tunka.n maya.ni
2 x 100 + 2 x 10 + 1 x 1,000 + 2 x 100 + 2 x 10 + 1

The occurrences of -ni indicate immediate constituent cuts where addition takes place. The number on which -ni is affixed is added to the previous number. The suffix occurs less frequently in numbers used in the marketplace than in a schoolroom situation.

1.12.24 Counting and Adding

1.12.24.1 Counting

Numbers under eleven, simple multiples of ten, and the number 100 are counted by citation form only, as in

maya, paya, kimsa...tunka, pa: tunka, kimsa tunka...pataka.
'one, two, three...ten, twenty, thirty........one hundred.'

Numbers over ten ending in digits, tens, or hundreds take -ni in the counting form, as

tunka maya.ni, tunka paya.ni....'eleven, twelve...'
pa: tunk maya.ni, pa: tunk paya.ni....'twenty-one, twenty-two...
patak tunka.ni, patak pa: tunka.ni...'one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty...'
waranq pataka.ni, waranq pa: pataka.ni...'one thousand one hundred, one thousand two hundred...'

1.12.24.2 Adding

Addition is accompanied by use of the suffix -mpi$_1$ (3.15) on each number to be added, e.g.

Paya.mp paya.mpi.x pusi.wa. 'Two plus two are four.'

1.12.25 Numbers as Referential Pronouns

1.12.25.1 Human Reference

When a number is used to refer to human beings, the suffix -ni (3.12) is attached, as in

Kimsa.ni.w sar.i. 'Three (people) went.'

kimsa	'three'
-wa	syntactic suffix
-sara-	'go'
-i	3-3 Simple Tense

Suxta.ni.:.tan.wa. 'We are six.'

suxta	'six'
-V:-	verbalizer (3.32)
-tan	4-3 Simple Tense
-wa	syntactic suffix

Pusi.n.pacha.w sara.ñani. 'All four of us will go.'

pusi	'four'
-pacha$_1$	'all' (3.16)
-wa	syntactic suffix
-nani	4-3 Future Tense

1.12.25.2 Non-human Reference

When a number is used to refer to animals or objects, no -ni is suffixed.

Kimsa.ki.w sar.i. 'Just three (animals) went.'

kimsa	'three'
-ki	independent suffix 'just'
sara-	'go'
-i	3-3 Simple Tense

Examples of numbers serving as modifiers in phrases are given in 4.21.

1.12.26 Irregular Allomorphs

The only numbers which have irregular allomorphs are *maya* 'one' and *paya* 'two.'

1.12.26.1 Counting

Maya and *paya* are the counting forms of 'one' and 'two', and for these two digits in numbers over ten, as in *tunka maya.ni* 'eleven.' The words *maya.ni* and *paya.ni* are understood as meaning 'eleven.' and 'twelve' even when the preceding *tunka* is omitted.

1.12.26.2 Referential Pronouns

1.12.26.21 Human reference, with -ni

may- occurs as in *May*.ni.w sar.i. 'One person went.'

pa- occurs as in *Pa*.ni.w sara.p.x.i. 'A married couple went.'

pani- occurs as in *Pani*.ni.w sara.p.xi. 'Two people went.'

-wa	syntactic suffix
sara-	'go'
-i	3-3 Simple Tense
-p-	plural (Chapter VI, 2.38)
-xa$_3$-	plural completive (Chapter VI, 2.39.1)

1.12.26.22 Non-human reference

maya takes the suffix -ja 'quantity' (3.02) in *may.ja* 'a little'

maya takes the suffix -sa 'side' (3.11.1) in *may.sa.r*, 'once',

(-ru 'to') 'side of body'

maya and *paya* occur as heads in phrases.

1.12.26.3 Modifiers

ma: and *pa:* occur as modifiers of other nominals, including numbers. See Chapter III, 1.2.13.

1.2 Pronominals

This class is subdivided into personal pronouns and demonstratives.

1.21 Personal Pronouns

There are four personal pronouns, not specific for gender. Only one, the fourth person, refers unambiguously to more than one; the others are ambiguous as to number. They may all take the optional plural of emphasis, -naka (3.14).

naya ~ na-[6]	first person, exclusive of addressee: 'I and possibly others, but not you'
juma	second person: 'you and possibly others'
jupa	third person: 'he, she, they'
jiwasa	fourth person, inclusive of addressee: 'you and I and possibly others'

These pronouns are distinguished from demonstratives morphologically in that they do not take the substantive suffix -ni possessor/enumerator (3.12), the personal possessive suffixes (3.13), nor the locational suffixes -sa and -kata (3.11). They normally refer to human beings, although in situations such as tales they may be extended to animals.

Personal pronouns do not occur in phrases with other substantives except when serving as modifiers, usually as possessives with the suffix -na. (See 3.21.5 and 4.21.)

1.22 Demonstratives

Demonstratives function as deictic pronouns referring to objects, places, or persons, and as modifiers in noun phrases whose heads are either nouns or positionals. They express four degrees of distance (real or metaphoric) from the speaker. The demonstratives and the corresponding substantive interrogative kawki 'where' are the only substantives that may take both the locational suffixes -sa and -kata. (Maya 'one' may also take -sa.)

As pronouns, the demonstratives frequently take locational suffixes. They also enter into complex formations with a number of suffixes, including thematic alternators. As modifiers in noun phrases, the demonstratives occur without any substantive suffixes.

1.22.1 Root Demonstratives

The following are the root demonstratives, presented in the order of their relative proximity to the speaker, beginning with the closest, and with illustrations of their occurrences as pronouns. Occurrences as modifiers are given in 4.21.

aka 'this, here' ak.sa.tuqi.x 'around this side'
sa- 'side' (3.11.1)
-tuqi 'around' (3.11.5)

uka 'that, there' Uka.x misa.wa. 'That is a table.'
-xa syntactic suffix
misa 'table'
-wa syntactic suffix

k"aya 'that over there, over there'
K"ay sara.m 'Go over there.'
sara- 'go'
-m 2-3 Imperative Tense

k"uri 'that way over there, way over there'
k"ur.sa.t 'from that side way over there'
-sa 'side'
-ta 'from' (3.21.2)

1.22.2 Derived Formations

The following sets of derived demonstratives and two related derived forms of kawki 'where' (1.32.3) are very close in meaning, and the difference between them is difficult to determine.

	kawki.:.ri[7]	kawk.n.i.:.ri[8]	'which'
aka	ak.i.:.ri	ak.n.i.:.ri	'this one here'
uka	uk.i.:.ri	uk.n.i.:.ri	'that one there'
k"aya	k"ay.i.:.ri	kay.n.i.:.ri[9]	'that one over there'
k"uri	k"uri.:.ri	k"uy.n.i.:.ri[9]	'that one way over there'
		k"ur.n.i.:.ri[9]	'that one way over there'

The following two demonstratives are believed to be frozen forms of aka and uka plus the substantive suffix -ja (3.02).

ak"a 'this much' Ak"a.x chur.ita. 'Give me this much.'

-xa	syntactic suffix
chura-	'give'
-ita	2-1 Imperative Tense

uk"a 'that much' Uk"a.x juma.taki.wa. 'That much is for you.'

juma	'you'
-taki	'for' (3.21.3)
-wa	syntactic suffix

The demonstrative uka often occurs as a syntactic linker in paragraph structure, either alone or in combination with suffixes. A full description of its occurrences is beyond the scope of this chapter, but some examples are given here.

k"iti.n uk 'whose house' (see 1.32.1)

Asuntita.n uk 'Asuntita's house' k"iti 'who' -na possessive (3.

(The above type of structure acts as a unit, with no additional suffixes on uka, which is often itself written as a suffix.[10])

uka.t	'then' (-ta 'from' 3.21.2)
uka.mpi	'and so, thus, with that' (-mpi$_1$ with' 3.15)
uk.xa.ru	'then'
-xa	'on' (3.11.6)
-ru	'to' (3.21.1)
uk.ch'a	'that size' (3.06)

The four root demonstratives aka, uka, k"aya, and k"uri combine with the substantive suffix -jama 'like' (3.22.3) to form ak"ama 'like this', uk"ama 'like that, thus', k"ay.jama 'like that over there', and k"ur.jama 'like that way over there.' The second, uk"ama, like other formations based on uka, is frequently used as syntactic linker.

1.3 Substantive Interrogatives

As indicated in Chapter V, Aymara interrogatives are a special root class the distribution of whose members corresponds to that of each of the other two main classes, substantives and verbs. The interrogative occurring as a verb root, kama- 'how' is described in Chapter V.

Substantive interrogatives serve as interrogative and indefinite pronouns. They are distinguished by the fact that they may take the syntactic suffix -sa, marker of information questions and indefinite statements, or may occur in phrases as modifiers of nouns or positionals that take -sa. The substantive interrogatives enter into phrases with nouns and positionals, but normally as modifiers, rather than as heads. (See 4.21.)

1.31 Roots

The substantive interrogative roots are:

k"iti	'who, whoever'
kuna	'what, whatever'
kawki	'where'
kamisa	'how'
qawq"a	'how much/many'

1.32 Derived formations

The substantive interrogatives enter into numerous complex formations with substantive suffixes, especially -mpi$_1$ conjoiner and the relational/ complement suffixes:

-ru	'to'	(3.21.1)
-ta	'from, of'	(3.21.2)
-taki	'for'	(3.21.3)
-mpi$_1$	'with' conjoiner	(3.15)
-mpi$_2$	'with' agentive/ instrumental	(3.21.4)
-na	'of, in'	(3.21.5)

Some examples with these suffixes and others are given below.

1.32.1	k"iti	'who'
	k"iti.ru.s	'to whom'
	k"iti.t.s	'of/from whom'
	k"iti.taki.s	'for whom'
	k"iti.mpi.s	'with whom'
	k"iti.n	'whose'

Another common form is k"iti.n uka, 'whose house', literally 'whose that'. (See 1.22.2)

1.32.2 kuna 'what'

kuna.ru.s	'why'[11]	
kuna.t.s	'why'	
kun.xa.t.s	'about what'	(-xa 'on' 3.11.6)
kuna.taki.s	'what for'	
kuna.mpi.s	'with what'	
kun.ja:ma.s[12]	'how, somehow'	(-jama 'like', 3.22.3)

kuna also occurs as the head of a noun phrase with taqi 'all' in

taqi kuna 'everything'

kuna also modifies roots referring to time:

kuna.pacha.s	'when'	(pacha 'period', 3.16)
kuna ura.s	'what time'	(Spanish hora)
kuna ratu.s	'what time'	(Spanish rato)
kunawrasa.s	'when'	(frozen stem from kuna ura.s)
kun.ur.kama.s	'until when'	(uru 'day', -kama 'until', 3.22.2)

1.32.3 kawki 'where'

kawki.ru.s	'to where'	kawki.taki.s	'for where'
kawki.t.s	'from where'	kawki.n.s	'in where'

Kawki.n.k.iri.sa? 'Where is he from?'

-ka- verbalizer (3.31)

-iri$_1$ nominalizer (2.12.1)

kawk.ch'a 'what size' (3.06)

kawk.sa 'what side' (-sa 'side', 3.11.1)

kawk.sa.tuq.s 'around where' (-tuqi 'around', 3.11.5)

Kawk.sa.n.k.iri.sa: 'where is he from?'

kawki.:.ri 'which' (See 1.22.2)

-V:- verbalizer (3.32)

-iri$_1$ nominalizer (2.12.1)

kawk.n.i.:ri 'which' (-na? 'of, in') (1.22.2)

The following is thought to be a frozen form of kawki and the substantive suffix -ja (3.02), analogous to ak"a and uk"a:

kawk"a 'what place'. It enters into combinations like those with kawki.

kawk"a.ru.s	'to what place'
kawk"a.t.s	'from what place'
kawk"a.taki.s	'for what place'
kawk"a.n.s	'in what place'

1.32.4 kamisa 'how'

In the dialects studied for this chapter, kamisa occurred only in such set phrases as

Kamisa.ki? 'How are you?' (-ki 'just')

Kamis kun.jama":.s.k.i.s? 'How is X?'

kun.jama	'how' (1.32.2)
-":-	verbalizer
-si_2	continuative (Chapter VI, 2.36)
-ka-	verbal derivational (Chapter VI, 2.39.2)
-i	3-3 Simple Tense

Forms with the suffixes -jama 'like' (3.22.3) and -kama 'up to, until' (3.22.2) were elicited from Mr. Copana, but he indicated that he would replace most of them by qawq"a 'how much/many.'

kamisa may also occur with -ni possessor/enumerator (3.12) to refer to human beings.

1.32.5 qawq"a 'how much/many'

This root, like kawk"a, is believed to contain the frozen suffix -ja (3.02)

qawq"a.ru.s	'for how much' (price)
qawq"a.t.s	'divided into how many units of measure (e.g. pounds, arr
qawq"a.taki.s	'for how much' (price)
qawq"a.mpi.s	'with how much' (money)

Like numbers, qawq"a takes -ni possessor/enumerator (3.12) to refer to human beings being counted:

qawq"a.ni.s 'how many people'

qawq"a occurs freely in more complex combinations with the suffixes -jama (3.22.3) and -kama (3.22.2).

1.33 The following examples of question and answer pairs show the correspondences of interrogatives with nominals and pronominals.

Nominal

Open

Human	K"it.s t"aq.i?	'Who did he look for?'
	Kullaka.p t"aq.i.	'He looked for his sister.'
Non-human	Kuna.s aka.x?	'What is this?'
	Aka.x misa.wa.	'This is a table.'
	Kawk.s sar.ta?	'Where did you go?'
	Mark sar.ta.	'I went to town.'
	Kamisa.ki?	'How are you?'
	Wali.ki.	'Fine.'

Closed

Positionals Non-human	Kawk.s sar.ta?	'Where did you go?'
	Anq sar.ta.	'I went outside.'
Numbers Non-human	Qawq"a.s aka.x?	'How much is this?'
	Aka.x pa: tunka.wa.	'That's twenty.'
Human	Qawq"a.ni.s sara.p.x.i?	'How many people went?'
	Kimsa.ni.w sara.p.x.i.	'Three people went.'

Pronominal

Personal pronouns

(Human)	K"it.s t"aq.i?	'Who did he look for?'
	Nay t"aq.it.u.[13]	'He looked for me.'

Demonstratives

(Non-human)	Kun.s t"aq.i?	'What is he looking for?'
	Ak t"aq.i.[14]	'He's looking for this.'
	Kawki?[14]	'Where?'
	Kawk"a?[14]	'In what place?'
	Aka.xa.ya.	'Here.'
	Uka.xa.ya.	'There.'
	K"aya.xa.ya.	'Over there.'
	K"uri.xa.ya.	'Way over there.'

1.4 Negative

The classification of the negative jani 'no' and three derived forms, jan.ja ~ jan.jama 'I don't think so' and jani.ra 'not yet', is in doubt. The suffix -jama and its free variant -ja are tentatively classified as substantive suffixes. (See 3.22.3.) The suffix -ra is apparently the sole relic in Aymara of a formerly productive syntactic suffix.[15]

Since jani does not take verb inflectional suffixes, it cannot be considered a verb root. If it is a substantive root, it is defective in that it apparently takes only one substantive suffix. Perhaps the three negatives should be considered particles: one a root negative and the others frozen stems, none of them taking any suffixes other than the independent and syntactic suffixes.

The negative jani may enter into substantive phrases as modifier, or as a linker between phrases. (See 4.21).

1.5 Ambiguous Substantive/Verb Roots and Stems

There are a few roots and stems in Aymara which may act both as substantives and verbs. Examples are:

manq'a 'food/eat' sara 'gait/go'

uñ.kata.si 'neighbor/he looks across at/he hates'

uña- 'look' (verb) -kata- 'straight across' (2.11) -si$_1$ reflexive

2. Verbal Suffixes That Affect Substantive Morphology

As indicated in Chapter VI, there are 32 verbal derivational suffixes in Aymara in two major order sets which are distinguished by distribution and function. Set I suffixes affect the verb root or theme (the action); Set II suffixes act on the verb persons expressed in the verb inflection suffix.

2.1 Verbal Suffixes as Thematic Alternators

Thematic alternators change the class of the root or stem to which they are affixed.

2.11 Verbal suffixes that may verbalize substantive roots

Ten of the Set I suffixes may occur on certain substantive roots (not stems) as well as on verbs. On substantive roots, these suffixes act as verbalizers. They are distinguished from the other thematic alternators in Aymara: the verbal suffixes which nominalize verb roots (see 2.12) and the substantive suffixes which verbalize substantive roots and stems (see 3.3).

The ten Set I verbal derivationals which can verbalize substantive roots are given below, with glosses indicating their primary function or meaning, and cross references to their descriptions in Chapter VI.

-cha-	causative of root (2.21)	-kata-	crosser, bridger (2.27.1)
-ja-	verbalizer of root (2.22)	-nta-	inceptive (2.27.4)
-ra-	serializer (2.24.1)	-tata-	scatterer, disperser (2.27.6
-t"api-	gatherer (2.24.2)	-nuku-	distancer (2.27.5)
-nuqa-	placer (2.25.1)	-t'a-	momentaneous (2.28.1)

Of the eleven Set II verbal derivationals discussed in Chapter VI, 2.3, only the first, -ya-, may verbalize substantive roots It acts on the persons involved in the resulting verb with the meaning of causing someone to do something. The suffix -ya- contrasts with the Set I causative -cha- which means to cause a substantive root to come into being. A verb stem containing the suffix -ya- may take a complement with either the substantive suffix -ru or the substantive suffix -mpi$_2$ indicating the agent. (See 3.21.1 and 3.21.4)

2.12 Nominalizers of verbs

Aymara has four thematic alternators which serve to nominalize verb roots, stems, or themes, turning them into substantive themes. These themes take most substantive suffixes, and may be reverbalized. Of the four -iri is unique phonologically in that it starts with a vowel. The four suffixes are given below in alphabetical order.

2.12.1 -iri

This suffix has two functions: 1) to turn a verb or verbalized form into a human actor and 2) to turn a verb or verbalized form into an inanimate goal or purpose.

2.12.11 -iri$_1$ Actor and Customary Action

-iri$_1$ turns a verb or verbalized form into a human actor who customarily does the action or is in the state indicated by the verb. -iri$_1$ may be reverbalized, giving the customary action itself. -iri$_1$ may be pluralized with the suffix -naka(3.14). It may precede or follow the independent suffixes -ki, -puni, and -raki (Chapter X). It causes the previous vowel to drop, retaining its own first vowel except as noted below.[16]

2.12.11.1 -iri$_1$ actor

q'ip.iri	'porter'	(q'ipa- 'carry on the back')
qam.iri	'rich person'	(qama- 'stay home')
suti.y.iri	'godfather'	(suti 'name', -ya- causative verbalizer)
tuku.ri[16]	'finisher'	(tuku- 'finish')
ap.naq.iri	'driver'	(apa- 'take', -naqa- 'around')
kawki.:.ri	'which'	(kawki 'where', -V:- verbalizer)
iskuyla.n.k.iri	'schoolboy'	(iskuyla 'school', -na 'in', -ka- verbalizer)
ch'uñu.ch.iri	'chuño-maker'	(ch'uñu 'freeze dried potato' -cha- causative of root)

2.12.11.2 Customary action - -iri$_1$ plus verbalization

Ap.naq.iri.:.ta.	'I usually drive/I know how to drive.'
ap.naq.iri	'driver'
-V:-	verbalizer (3.32)
-ta	1-3 Simple Tense
Ap.naq.iri.:.rista.	'I would like to be a driver.'
-irista	1-3 Desiderative Tense

With the independent suffix -puni 'really' preceding -iri$_1$, the last example is

Ap.naqa.pun.iri.:.rista. 'I would really like to be a driver.'

2.12.12 -iri$_2$ Subordinate Purposive

This suffix converts a verb into a non-human, inanimate goal or purpose of a verb. Unlike -iri$_1$, it does not take the plural suffix -naka. Like -iri$_1$, it causes a previous vowel to drop, retaining its own first vowel. Forms with -iri$_2$ may always answer questions with kuna.ru.s 'why' and may sometimes answer questions with kuna.s 'what' (1.3).

Kuna.ru.s sara.:ta? 'Why are you going?'

kuna	'what'
-ru	'to'
-sa	question suffix
sara-	'go'
-V:ta	2-3 Future

Sirwis al.iri.w sara.:. 'I'm going to buy beer.'

sirwisa	'beer'
ala-	'buy'
-wa	syntactic suffix

Kun.s uñ.ja.ñ muna . sma? 'What do you want to see?'

kuna	'what'
-sa	question suffix
uña-	'look'
-ja-	verbal derivational
-na	nominalizer (2.12.3)
muna-	'want'
-Vsma	2-3 Desiderative

Ch'uñ ch'uñu.ch.ir uñ.ja.ñ mun.irista. 'I want to see chuño-making'

ch'uñu.ch.ir	'chuño-making'	-irista	1-3 Desiderative

In the last example, the form with -iri$_2$, ch'uñu.ch.ir, is the zero complement (3.23) of the nominalized verb uñ.jaña (2.12.2). It is here homophonous with ch'uñu.ch.ir 'chuño-maker', with -iri$_1$ (see 2.12.11.1), but the latter takes the directional complement suffix -ru (3.21.1) when it is the complement of a verb, answering the question k"iti.ru.s 'to whom':

K"iti.ru.s uñ.ja.ñ mun.ta? 'Who did you want to see?'

Ch'uñu.ch.iri.r uñ.ja.ñ mun.irista.' 'I'd like to see the chuño-makers.'

Two other pairs showing the contrast of -iri$_1$ and -iri$_2$ are

K"iti.s sara.p.xa.ni? 'Who (plural) will go?'

-iri$_1$: Ch'uñu.ch.iri.naka.w sara.p.xa.ni. 'The chuño-makers will go.'

sara-	'go'
-p-	plural (Chapter VI, 2.38)
-xa$_3$-	plural completive (Chapter VI, 2.39.1)
-ni	3-3 Future
-naka	plural
-wa	syntactic suffix

Kuna.ru.s sara.p.xa.ni? 'Why will they go?'

-iri$_2$: Ch'uñu.ch.iri.w sara.p.xa.ni. 'They will go to make chuño.'

2.12.2 -ña Infinitive Marker

This suffix occurs on verb roots or stems, making them infinitives. It requires a preceding vowel. Substantive themes with -ña behave morphologically and syntactically like abstract nouns, but they retain the verb-like characteristic of taking zero complements (3.23) and relational complements (3.21). The suffix -ña also may be used to express obligation. The combination -ña plus -taki beneficiary complement suffix (3.21.3) acts as a subordinator of purpose.

2.12.21 Examples of substantive-like and verb-like behavior of -ña

2.12.21.1 -ña as zero complement with its own zero complement

In the sentence that follows, Aymar 'Aymara' is the zero complement of liyi.ñ 'to read'; the phrase Aymar liyi.ñ 'to read Aymara' is the zero complement of yati.qa.ñ 'to learn'; and the whole phrase Aymar liyi.ñ yati.qa.ñ 'to learn to read Aymara' is the zero complement of the verb stem muna- 'want' in the inflected verb mun.irista 'I would like':[17]

Aymar liyi.ñ yati.qa.ñ mun.irista. 'I would like to learn to read Aymara.'

2.12.21.2 -ña as zero complement with its own -ru complement

In the following sentence, parinu.r 'to the godfather' is the -ru complement of sara.ña 'to go', and parinu.r sara.ñ 'to go to the godfather' is the zero complement of mun.irista.

Parinu.r sara.ñ mun.irista. 'I would like to go to the godfather.'

2.12.22 -ña marker of obligation

-ña may express obligation either when it occurs on a verb root or stem which is not subsequently reverbalized, or when there is reverbalization. Examples follow.

Kuna.s ala.ni.ña? 'What to buy?/What has to be bought?'

kuna	'what
-sa	syntactic suffix
ala-	'buy'
-ni-	'nearative' (Chapter VI, 2.33)

Tuku.ya.ña.:.x.i.w. 'It is necessary to finish/(Something) has to be finished.'

tuku-	'finish'	-xa$_2$	completive (Chapter VI, 2.37)
-ya-	causative	-i	3-3 Simple Tense
-V:-	verbalizer (3.32)	-wa	syntactic suffix

Personal obligation may be expressed by -ña plus -ni possessor/enumerator (3.12) or plus one of the personal possessive suffixes (3.13). (See also the examples given in 4.32.)

2.12.23 -ña.taki subordinator

The combination -ña plus -taki directional complement 'for' (3.21.3) has the meaning 'for the purpose of', as in

yati.qa.ña.taki 'for the purpose of learning' in the sentence

Wuliwy marka.r jut.ta Aymar yati.qa.ña.taki.

'I came to Bolivia to learn Aymara.'

aka	'this'
Wuliwy	Bolivia
marka	'country'
-ru	'to'
jut-	'come'
-ta	1-3 Simple Tense
Aymar	Aymara
yati-	'know'
-qa-	'down'
yati.qa-	'learn'

A personal possessive suffix may occur after -ña and before -taki, as in

Wuliwy sara.ña.xa.taki.wa 'for my going to Bolivia.'

sara-	'go'
-xa	first person possessive
-wa	syntactic suffix

2.12.3 -ta Resultant

This is to be distinguished from other homophonous suffixes (see 3.21.2). It requires a preceding and a following vowel.

Tuku.ya.ta.:.x.i.w. 'It is completely finished.'

tuku-	'finish'	-xa$_2$-	completive (Chapter VI, 2.37)
-ya-	causative	-i	3-3 Simple Tense
-V:-	verbalizer	-wa	syntactic suffix

usu.ta 'sick person' (usu- 'be sick')

uma.ta 'drunk person' (uma- 'drink')

p'ita.ta 'knitted' (p'ita- 'knit')

2.12.4 -wi Place or occasion of action

ut.ja.wi.sa.x 'our live-place, where we lived'

uta	'house'
-ja-	verbalizer
-sa	fourth person possessive
-xa	syntactic suffix

sar.naqa.wi.xa 'my path, my culture, my way, where I go'

sara-	'go'
-naqa-	'around'
-xa	first person possessive

suti.ya.wi.na.k.xa.y 'just at the baptism'

suti	'name'
-ya-	causative verbalizer
-na	'on'
-ki	'just'
-xa	syntactic suffix
-ya	syntactic suffix

(See 3.32.13 for an example of a form nominalized with -wi and reverbalized with -V:-.)

2.2 Other Verbal Suffixes that Relate to Substantive Morphology

There are other Set II verbal derivational suffixes which must be mentioned in a study of Aymara substantive suffixes. These are 1) the pluralizer -p- and the cooccurring suffixes -ka- incompletive and -xa$_3$- completive, discussed with the substantive plural suffix -naka (3.14); 2) the suffix -si$_1$ reflexive (3.21.4); and 3) the suffixes -rapi- beneficiary and -raqa- victimary. The latter two suffixes are quite important in Aymara substantive morphology.

The suffix -rapi- makes the complement of the verb inflection suffix the beneficiary of the action, the person on whose behalf the action is done. The beneficiary may also be optionally specified in the sentence by a noun or pronoun with the suffix -taki 'for' (3.21.3). (The beneficiary is to be distinguished from the recipient or indirect object of the action, usually marked by the directional suffix -ru.) (See 3.21.1.)

The suffix -raqa- causes the complement person of the verb inflection to be adversely affected by the action, but indirectly, and in a very specific way: The subject person acts upon the possession of the complement person, against the latter's will and to his displeasure. If the verb inflection complement is second person, for example, that person and the possession in question may be expressed in the sentence by a noun phrase like juma.n wawa.m 'your baby.' In that phrase, the possessor juma 'you' has the possessive/locational suffix -na (3.21.5), here indicating possession, and the possessed wawa 'baby' has the second person possessive suffix -ma (3.13).

If, in a sentence containing -raqa- in the verb, the possession is not expressed, it is understood that something belonging to the verb complement person is acted upon in a manner designed to be detrimental to the latter. The possessor in question is always expressed in the verb person complement. The various ways in which the possessor and the possession may optionally appear in a sentence with -raqa- are discussed in 3.21.5 and 3.31.

3. Substantive Suffixes

Aymara substantive suffixes occur only on substantive roots, substantive stems, or substantivized (nominalized) themes. They may be followed by the independent and/or the syntactic suffixes.

Aymara substantive suffixes are divided into three major order classes. Class I consists of 15 suffixes whose relative order is less fixed than that of the suffixes of Class II, although there are some restrictions on ordering in Class I and some of its members are mutually exclusive. Class I suffixes are: Locationals, possessor/enumerator, personal possessives, plural, conjoiner, and includer. Class I suffixes may be follow by the nine suffixes of Class II, which are ordered relative to each other. They are the relational/complement suffixes (two directionals, a beneficiary/purposive, an agentive/instrumental, and a possessive/locational), three final suffixes, and the zero complement. Class III substantive suffixes are the three thematic alternators which verbalize. They may occur after Class I or Class II suffixes, but not separate them. That is, a given stem or theme may have suffixes from each class, but only in the order

Root (I) (II) (III)

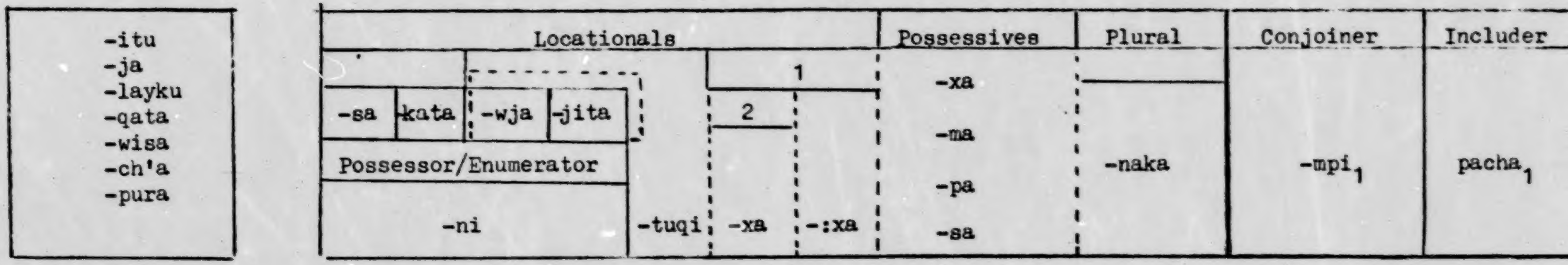
There are also seven suffixes of limited distribution.

The classes of substantive suffixes and the four nominalizers of verbs (see 2.12) are shown in the chart on page 236.

3.0 Suffixes of Limited Distribution

These are suffixes which may once have been productive, but now appear on only one or two roots or seem to be of limited use in the language. Except for -pura 'among', the suffixes of limited distribution occur immediately on the root.

AYMARA SUBSTANTIVE SUFFIXES


-itu
-ja
-layku
-qata
-wisa
-ch'a
-pura
Locationals
-sa
-kata
-wja
-jita
Possessor/Enumerator
-ni
-tuqi
1
2
-xa
-:xa
Possessives
-xa
-ma
-pa
-sa
Plural
-naka
Conjoiner
-mpi₁
Includer
pacha₁

Limited Class

Class I

Relational/Complement	Final Suffixes		4.
-ru -ta -taki -mpi₂ -na	-kama -pacha₂	-jama	Zero Complement

Class II

Verbalizers
-ka- -V:- -pta-

Class III

Key:

Nominalizers of Verbs
-iri -ña -ta -wi

Suffixes separated by dotted line may change places.

Suffixes separated by solid line may not change places.

1. May follow -mpi$_1$ and -pacha$_1$.
2. May separate -mpi$_1$ and pacha$_1$.
3. May precede -ni.
4. May not cooccur with -ru, -mpi$_2$, or -pacha$_2$.

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3.01 -itu 'little'

This suffix is borrowed from the Spanish diminutive -ito.[18] It occurs fairly freely on roots which it is desired to qualify as small, such as (in the corpus for this study) challwa 'fish' (in an aquarium), and jamach'i 'bird' and chuyma 'heart' (in a woven design). It also occurs in a number of frozen stems such as chikitu 'little boy' (from Spanish chiquito) and papasitu 'daddy' (from Spanish papacito). It requires a preceding consonant.

3.02 -ja 'quantity'

This suffix occurs on only a few roots, and is sometimes difficult to distinguish from a homophonous allomorph of the Class III substantive suffix -jama (3.22.3). Both must be distinguished from the verbal derivational suffix -ja- (2.11) which may verbalize substantive roots without adding any meaning of its own, and which has the same morphophonemics as the substantive suffix -ja and the -ja allomorph of -jama. They all require a preceding consonant.

Some clear-cut examples of the occurrence of -ja 'quantity' are:

wal.ja 'a lot' (wali 'good, well')

may.ja may.ja.raki.w 'a little different'

maya	'one'
-raki	independent suffix
-wa	syntactic suffix

The first example above contrasts with wal.jama 'so-so' which occurs in a phrase with the negative jani:

wal.jam jan wal.jam 'so-so', 'not so good'

Another occurrence of -ja which is probably this suffix is

jan.ja.w 'I don't think so.' jani 'no' -wa syntactic suffix

This suffix is thought to occur frozen to the stem in the demonstratives *ak"a* and *uk"a* (1.22.2) and the interrogatives *kawk"a* (1.32.3) and *qawq"a* (1.32.5). In Mr. Copana's dialect, *uk"a* alternates with *uk.ja* in free variation.

3.03 -layku 'for', 'because of', 'on account of', 'in exchange for'

This suffix is rarely used in the Aymara spoken by the sources for this chapter, except in speeches. It requires a preceding vowel except when it occurs following a stem or noun phrase having three or more vowels, and as such behaves like a root. (See -tuqi, 3.11.5). -layku is used in questions when circumstances are not clear or appear contradictory to the observer.

Kuna.*layku*.s jut.ta? 'Whatever possessed you to come?'

kuna	'what'
-sa	question suffix
jut-	'come'
-ta	2-3 Simple Tense

Kuna.*layku*.k jut.k.pacha.t.xa? 'Why did I ever come?'

-ki	independent suffix, 'just'
-ka-	non-completive (Chapter VI, 2.39.2)
-pacha-	verbal modal, inferential
-ta	1-3 Simple Tense
-xa	syntactic suffix

-layku occurs rarely in statements.

Yati.qa.ñ.*layku*.w jut.ta. 'I came because of {learning / wanting to learn.}'

yati-	'know'	-wa	syntactic suffix
-qa-	'down' (Chapter VI, 2.25.2)	jut-	'come'
-ña	nominalizer (2.12.2)	-ta	1-3 Simple Tense

Compare this to the subordinate/purposive -iri$_2$ (2.12.1) in

Yati.q.iri.w jut.ta. 'I came to learn.'

3.04 -qata 'below'

This was apparently once a productive locational, like -tuqi. It occurs only on the root nayra 'eye' in nayra.qata 'in front.' It requires a preceding vowel.

3.05 -wisa 'without'

This has been found on three roots, and requires a preceding vowel. In Mr. Yapita's dialect it is -wisu; in Ms. Vasquez', -wisa.

jinchu.wisa	'hard of hearing, deaf'
jinchu	'ear'
nayra.wisa	'having bad eyesight, blind'
nayra	'eye'

The above two expressions are in fairly frequent use, but would not be said in the hearing of the person referred to, as they would be taken as rude. One more example was attested by Ms. Vasquez:

jayu.wisa	'lacking salt' (said of food)
jayu	'salt'

3.06 -ch'a 'size', 'extent'

This suffix requires a preceding consonant. It occurs only on the demonstratives aka 'this' and uka 'that' and on the corresponding interrogative kawki 'where'.

kawk.ch'a	'what size'	ak.ch'a	'this size'
uk.ch'a.ki.y	'just that size'		
-ki	independent suffix, 'just'	-ya	syntactic suffix

uk.ch'a occurs as the head in phrases with numbers.

kimsa uk.ch'a 'three of that size'

3.07 -pura 'among'

This suffix occurs only after -naka 'plural' on human substantives, as in jupa.nak.pura 'among them'. It is similar in meaning to -kama 'among' which may be substituted for it in most contexts. (See 3.22.2) -pura requires a preceding consonant.

3.1 Class I Substantive Suffixes

The suffixes of Class I have no case function, that is, they do not mark the substantives on which they occur as complements of the verb, but rather optionally indicate location, possession, enumeration, plurality, conjunction, or inclusion. They may be followed immediately by verbalizing suffixes (3.3).

3.11 Locationals

The locational suffixes occur with few restrictions on their order relative to each other. The suffix -sa 'side' must occur first, on the root. The suffix -kata 'in front' must precede all but -sa 'side', and does not readily cooccur with any other suffix. Also, if the suffix -wja 'place' and -jita 'exact place' both occur on a substantive, they are ordered relative to each other, -wja preceding -jita. They may, however, occur alone or with other suffixes. The other three locational suffixes, -tuqi 'around', -V:xa- 'beside', and -xa 'on, over' may cooccur with the other four and with each other. The only restriction on their order is that they may not separate -sa and -kata, nor -wja and -jita.

Locational suffixes usually cooccur with the relational/complement suffixes of Class II or with the zero complement.

3.11.1 -sa 'side'

This suffix occurs only on demonstratives (1.22), the related interrogative kawki 'where', and the number maya 'one' (1.12.26.22). If it occurs it must occur directly on the root. It requires a preceding consonant. It is frequently followed by the Class II relational suffixes -ru 'to' (3.21.2), -ta 'from', or -na possessive/locational (3.21.5).

kawk.sa	'on what side'
ak.sa.r	'to this side'
k"ur.sa.r	'to that side way over there'
k"ur.sa.t	'from way over there'
may.sa.r	'once', 'side of the body'

3.11.2 -kata ~ -kati 'across, front'

Both allomorphs occur in the speech of Ms. Vasquez, in free variation. This suffix, like -sa, occurs only on demonstratives and the interrogative kawki (but not on maya).[19] It requires a previous consonant.

k"ay.kati.n	'over there in front'
k"aya	'over there'
-na	possessive/locational

3.11.3 -wja 'place'

This suffix usually occurs with -jita, which it precedes, but it may occur alone on a root. It occurs on all classes of substantives, requiring a preceding vowel.

uta.wja 'where the house is'

Aka.wja.n.k.t.wa. 'Here I am, in this place.'

aka	'this'	-ta	1-3 Simple Tense
-na	possessive/locational	-wa	syntactic suffix
-ka-	verbalizer (3.31.2)		

3.11.4 -jita 'exactly in a place'

Whatever takes -wja also takes -jita, but the latter may also occur alone on a root. The initial /j/ reduces to aspiration on the demonstratives aka and uka. When -jita follows -wja, the two /j/'s reduce to one. -jita requires a preceding consonant.

ak".ita.n	'right here'
ch'illa.wj.ita.n	'right on the side of the body'
aka	'here'
ch'illa	'side of body'
-wja	'place'
-na	possessive/locational

3.11.5 -tuqi 'around'

As indicated in 1.12.1, -tuqi must be considered a suffix rather than a root. It may represent a transitional stage in the language, a morpheme which is both root-like and suffix-like, but occurring more often as a suffix. Its morphophonemics are like those of positional roots in compounds: When preceded by a two-vowel root, it retains the final root vowel, but when preceded by a root, stem, or phrase having three or more vowels, it causes the immediately preceding vowel to drop.

Preceded by two-vowel root: yapu.tuqi 'around the field'

Preceded by three-vowel root: ch'iyar.tuqi 'around the green'

ch'iyara 'green'

Preceded by four-vowel phrase: jach'a yap.tuqi 'around the big field'

In the last example, -tuqi is modifying the whole phrase jach'a yapu 'big field', not just yapu 'field.'[20]

-tuqi may occur on all substantives except personal pronouns. It may occur with the other locationals, but if so it must follow -sa 'side' and -kata 'across'. It may precede or follow -wja 'place', -jita 'exactly in a place' (but not separate them), -xa 'over' and -V:xa 'beside'. It is frequently followed by one of the Class II relational suffixes (3.21). Examples of -tuqi with other suffixes are:

misa.:x.tuqi.r ~ misa.tuqi.:xa.r		'beside the table'
	misa	'table'
	-:xa	'beside'
	-ru	'to'
nayra.tuqi.r		'forward, ahead'
	nayra	'eye'
	-ru	'to'
kawk.sa.tuq.s		'around where'
	kawki	'where'
	-sa	'side'
	-sa	syntactic suffix
Istarusunirus.tuqi.t		'from around the United States'
	Istarusunirusa	'United States'
	-ta	'from'
ak.sa.tuqi.wj.ita.n		'right around here'
	aka	'here'
	-sa	'side'
	-wja	'place'

-tuqi also occurs with personal possessives and the plural -naka, in any order. yapu.x.tuqi.naka ~ yapu.naka.x.tuq 'toward my fields'

yapu 'field' -xa 1p possessive -naka plural

3.11.6 -xa 'over/on'

This suffix is to be distinguished from five other homophonous suffixes:

-xa	syntactic suffix
-xa$_1$-	frozen verbal derivational (Chapter VI, 2.14)
-xa$_2$-	verbal action completive (Chapter VI, 2.37)
-xa$_3$-	verbal plural completive (Chapter VI, 2.39.1)
-xa	substantive suffix, first person possessive

The first four may be distinguished from -xa 'over/on' by their distribution, and the last by morphophonemics. The suffix -xa "over' is also to be distinguished from the substantive suffix -V:xa 'beside' which lengthens the previous vowel. -xa 'over/on' must be preceded by a consonant.

The suffix -xa 'over/on' may precede or follow the conjoiner suffix -mpi, and the includer suffix -pacha$_1$, and may separate them. (See 4.22.33). As indicated earlier, it may occur in any order with the other locationals, except that it may not precede -sa, separate -sa from -kata, nor separate -wja from -jita.

Examples of its occurrence are:

misa.pat.xa.n	'on top of the table'
misa	'table'
pata	'top'
-na	possessive/locational
uk.xa.ru.	'then' (1.22.2)
jum.xa.ta	'about you'
juma	'you'
-ta	'from, of'

3.11.7 -V:xa 'beside'

This suffix is to be distinguished from the other partially homophonous suffixes discussed under 3.11.6. It is also not to be confused with -V:- verbalizer plus -xa$_2$ verbal action completive, which may occur on substantive stems, as in the following:

ura.:.x.i.w	'time's up'
ura	'hour'
-V:-	verbalization
-xa$_2$-	completive
-i	3-3 Simple Tense
-wa	syntactic suffix

The suffix -V:xa- may precede or follow -mpi$_1$ and pacha$_1$, but not separate them. As indicated earlier, -V:xa- may occur in any order with the other locationals, except that it may not precede -sa, separate -sa from -kata, nor separate -wja from -jita. It usually occurs with one of the relational suffixes (3.21). It requires a previous vowel.

Examples are:

ak.sa.:xa.r	'to this side'
aka	'this'
-sa	'side'
-ru	'to'
mis.xa.:xa.r	'over beside the table'
misa	'table'
-xa	'over'
-ru	'to'

See also the example with -tuqi (3.11.5).

3.12 -ni Possessor/Enumerator

The suffix -ni does not occur with the locational suffixes -sa, -kata, -wja, and -jita. It may precede, but not follow, the locational suffixes -tuqi, -xa, and -V:xa, as well as the personal possessive suffixes, $-mpi_1$, and $-pacha_1$. It may precede or follow -naka 'plural'. It requires a preceding vowel.

3.12.1 -ni Possessor

Except when it occurs on numbers and the interrogatives kamisa 'how' and qawq"a 'how many', -ni turns a substantive into a possessor of that substantive.[21]

3.12.11 Human possessor

Uta.ni.wa. 'He has a house/He is a house-owner.'

uta	'house'
-wa	syntactic suffix

Uta.ni.w jut.i 'The house-owner came.'

juta-	'come'
-i	3-3 Simple Tense

Uta.ni.:.t.wa. 'I have a house/I am a house-owner.'

-V:-	verbalizer (3.32)
-ta	1-3 Simple Tense
-wa	syntactic suffix

Juma.x qawq"a uta.ni.:.ta.sa? 'How many houses do you have?'

Naya.x pusi uta.ni.:.t.wa. 'I have four houses.'

juma	'you'	-ta	2-3 Simple Tense
-xa	syntactic suffix	-sa	syntactic suffix
qawq"a	'how many'	pusi	'four'

Kuna suti.ni.sa? 'What is $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{her}\\\text{his}\end{Bmatrix}$ name?' (literally, 'What-name haver?')

Kuna.ni.sa? 'What does $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{he}\\\text{she}\end{Bmatrix}$ have?'

kuna	'what'	suti	'name'	-sa	syntactic suffix

On certain themes, after the nominalizer -ña (2.12.21), the suffix -ni expresses possession of an obligation. On other themes ending in -ña the addition of -ni gives a sense of ownership without obligation. (See 2.12.22 and 3.13 for other ways of expressing obligation in Aymara.)

Apa.ña.ni.:.t.wa. 'I have $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{something to take.}\\\text{to take something.}\end{Bmatrix}$' (obligation)

apa-	'take'	-ta	1-3 Simple Tense
-V:-	verbalizer	-wa	syntactic suffix

Uma.ña.ni.:.t.wa. 'I have a lot of liquor.' (no obligation)

uma-	'drink'

-ni may also occur on themes nominalized with $-iri_1$:

Suti.y.iri.ni.:.t.wa. 'I have a godfather.'

suti	'name'	-ya-	causative verbalizer	$-iri_1$	nominalizer (2.12.1)

3.12.12 Non-human possessor

-ni may also mark a non-human possessor, as in:

Uka.x wila punku.n. tinta.wa. 'That's a store with a red door.'

Uka tinta.x wila punku.ni.wa. 'That store has a red door.'

uka	'that'	punku	'door'
-xa	syntactic suffix	tinta	'store'
wila	'red'	-wa	syntactic suffix

(See also 4.21.24)

Compare the above with the expression of possession with -na possessive/ locational (3.21.5) and with personal possessive suffixes (3.13).

3.12.2 -ni Enumerator

-ni is used in forming numbers (1.12.23.2), for counting (1.12.24.1), and when a number or the interrogatives *kamisa* or *qawq"a* refers to human beings (1.12.25.1, 1.32.4, and 1.32.5). When it occurs on numbers and those two interrogatives, -ni is never a mark of possession.

3.13 Personal Possessives

There are four personal possessive suffixes in Aymara, corresponding to the four persons (1.21):

-xa	first person	as in	*uta.xa*	'my/our (exclusive) house'
-ma	second person	" "	*uta.ma*	'your house'
-pa	third person	" "	*uta.pa*	'his/her/its/their house'
-sa	fourth person	" "	*uta.sa*	'our (inclusive) house'

All refer exclusively to human possessors except the third person -pa which may also be used for inanimate or non-human animate possessors. The personal possessive suffixes occur on the possessed substantive to mark it as possessed.

The personal possessive suffixes are mutually exclusive with the locational suffixes -sa 'side' and -kata 'across' inasmuch as those two suffixes occur only on demonstratives and interrogatives, while the personal possessives do not occur on demonstratives, interrogatives,* personal pronouns, or numbers; that is, they occur only on nouns and positionals.

The personal possessive suffixes do not occur before -ni possessor/enumerator and do not occur after -mpi$_1$ and -pacha$_1$. Apart from these restrictions, they occur freely with all locationals except -sa and -kata in any order, although they may not separate -wja and -jita.

* except *kuna* 'what' (see 4.21.11.42)

The personal possessives all require a preceding vowel. One of them, -xa (which is to be distinguished from other homophonous morphemes - see 3.11.6), has an allomorph consisting of the reduction of -xa to /a:/ if the preceding vowel is /a/. This allomorph does not occur before -ta directional. An example of it is:

nina.xa.chim ~ nina.:.chim 'maybe my fire'

nina	'fire'
-chim	'maybe'

3.13.1 Personal possessives on stems ending in -ña (2.12.2)

The affixation of a personal possessive to a substantive theme ending in -ña expresses a personal obligation, if followed by the syntactic suffix -wa.

Sara.ña.xa.w. 'I have to go.'

sara-	'go'

Compare the above to the expression of personal obligation with -ni (3.12).

Without -wa on the nominalized verb, the sense of obligation is not present:

juta.ña.p.kama.xa 'until his coming, until he came'

juta-	'come'
-pa	third person possessive
-kama	'until' (3.22.2)
-xa	syntactic suffix

3.13.2 Personal possessives with locational suffixes

misa.x.xa.:.xa.r 'on (the floor) beside my table'

misa	'table'
-xa	first person possessive
-xa	'over, on'
-V:xa	'beside'
-ru	'to'

yapu.ma.:x.xa.r 'on (the ground) beside your field'

yapu	'field'
-ma	second person possessive
-V:xa	'beside'
-xa	'over, on'
-ru	'to'

All the different possible orders of the two locational suffixes and the possessives were tried out on the native speakers, and all were acceptable.

3.14 -naka Plural

As indicated above, number is not obligatorily marked in Aymara. The suffix -naka may occur on any substantive root or theme except one ending in $-iri_2$, but its absence does not indicate singularity.

-naka may not separate -sa 'side' from -kata, nor -wja from -jita, nor may it occur before -sa 'side'. -naka pluralizes the stem preceding it, e.g.

uta.naka	'houses'
uta.naka.ni	'owner of houses'
uta.ni	'house-owner'
uta.ni.naka	'owners of house(s)'

(-ni possessor)

-naka may occur directly on numbers, if they refer to sets, i.e.

pusi.naka 'the fours'

In the dialects studied, -naka occurs most often before the personal possessive suffixes, if both occur on a stem, but it is acceptable after them. -naka requires a preceding vowel.

Some examples of -naka in combination with other suffixes are:

yapu.naka.xa.taki 'for my fields'

yapu	'field'
-xa	first person possessive
-taki	'for'

usku.ña.naka.wja.ru 'to the dump'

usku-	'place' (verb)
-ña	nominalizer
-naka	plural
-wja	'place'
-ru	'to'

Plurality is optionally shown in Aymara verb stems by the verbal derivational suffix -p- in combination with the suffix -ka- incompletive or the suffix $-xa_3$ plural completive. (See Chapter VI, 2.38 and 2.39). When either -p.ka- or -p.xa- occur in an inflected verb stem, -naka may occur on either the subject or the complement, or both. The presence of -naka on the subject or complement does not require the presence of -p.ka- or -p.xa- in the verb, nor vice versa. A verb with a third person complement does not usually have -p.ka- or -p.xa- in the verb stem even if the complement is expressed in the sentence by a substantive with -naka, i.e.

Jupa.naka.ru.w jisk.t'a.:ta. 'You will ask them.'

jupa	third person pronoun
-naka	plural
-ru	'to'
-wa	syntactic suffix
jiska-	'ask'
-t'a-	momentaneous
-V:ta	2-3 Future Tense

Some other possible combinations are:

Jupa.naka.w naya.r parla.p.x.itu. 'They spoke to me.'

Jupa.w na.naka.r parla.p.x.itu. 'He spoke to us.'

Jupa.naka.w na.naka.r parla.p.x.itu. 'They spoke to us.'

jupa	third person pronoun
-wa	syntactic suffix
naya	first person pronoun
na-	allomorph of first person pronoun
-ru	'to'
parla-	'speak'
-itu	3-1 Simple Tense

In La Paz, among Aymara radio announcers translating from Spanish scripts, the optional pluralizers -naka, -p.xa-, and -p.ka- are used frequently, apparently reflecting obligatory Spanish inflection for number. The use of the optional pluralizers is less common among rural, monolingual Aymara speakers.

3.15 -mpi$_1$ Conjoiner

This suffix has different distribution and functions from -mpi$_2$ agentive instrumental, a Class II suffix, and is therefore distinguished from it, although they have the same morphophonemics: They require a preceding vowel. The suffix -mpi$_1$ conjoiner may occur on any substantive except themes ending in -ña or -wi. It may precede (but not follow) -naka[22] and -pacha$_1$, frequently occurring with the latter. It may follow (but not precede) the locationals -sa, -kata, -wja, -jita, and -tuqi. It may precede or follow all other Class I suffixes.

-mpi$_1$ may occur on one or two substantives in a sentence.

3.15.1 on a single substantive

3.15.11 Human: Juma.mp sara.ñani. 'I'll go with you.' (literally, 'You and I will go with you.')

juma	'you'
sara-	'go'
-ñani	4-3 Future Tense

Kimsa.ni.mpi.w sara.ñani. 'Three more of us will go.'

kimsa	'three'
-ni	possessor/enumerator
-wa	syntactic suffix

Uta.ni.mpi.:.t.wa. 'I'm with the house-owner.'

uta	'house'
-ni	possessor/enumerator
-V:-	verbalizer
-ta	1-3 Simple Tense
-wa	syntactic suffix

3.15.12 Non-human:

Maya.mp sa.m. 'Say it again.'

maya	'one'
sa-	'say'
-m	2-3 Imperative Tense

Uma.mp wayu.ni.waya.:.ta. 'Bring the water along too.'

uma	'water'
wayu-	'carry liquid'
-ni-	'nearative' (Chapter VI. 2.33)
-waya-	'distancer' (Chapter VI, 2.34)
-V:ta	2-3 Future Tense

As a syntactic linker:

uka.mpi.x	'and so, thus, with that' (1.22.2)
ina.mpi.s	'perhaps'

-mpi$_1$ also occurs in negative phrases. (See 4.21.11.5).

3.15.2 on two substantives in a sentence

-mpi$_1$ conjoiner occurs on two (human or non-human) substantives in a sentence for number addition (1.12.24.2) and in conjoined substantive phrases. An example of such a phrase is

tunka	jamach'i.mpi	suxta	wisk'acha.mpi
ten	birds $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{and}\\\text{with}\end{matrix}\right\}$	six	vizcachas

Other examples of substantive phrases conjoined with -mpi$_1$ are given in 4.22.33.

For examples of -mpi$_1$ with -pacha$_1$, see 3.16.2 and 4.22.33.

3.16 -pacha$_1$ Includer 'all'

It is necessary in Aymara to distinguish at least four -pacha suffixes and one *pacha* root, as follows:

-pacha$_1$	substantive derivational, all-inclusive
-pacha$_2$	substantive derivational, 'the same, the very, itself'
-pacha	part of frozen stem *taq.pacha* 'all'
-pacha-	verbal modal inferential suffix
pacha	noun root, 'period, time, epoch'

The suffix -pacha$_1$ 'all' has different distribution and meaning from -pacha$_2$ 'the same, the very, itself', though the same morphophonemics. Both require a preceding consonant, as does the -pacha of the frozen stem, *taq.pacha*, which behaves like a root, taking suffixes that otherwise precede -pacha$_1$, as in *taq.pacha.ni* 'everyone'. -pacha- verbal modal inferential also requires a preceding consonant. *pacha* noun root, which occurs in *kuna.pacha* 'when' with the interrogative *kuna*, requires a preceding vowel.

3.16.1 -pacha$_1$ on a single substantive

3.16.11 Human:

Kimsa.n.*pacha*.w sara.ñani. 'All three of us will go.'

kimsa	'three'
-ni	possessor/enumerator
-wa	syntactic suffix
sara-	'go'
-ñani	4-3 Future Tense

3.16.12 Non-human:

Pus.pach.t apa.ni.:ta? 'Will you bring all four?'

pusi	'four'
-ti	question suffix
apa-	'bring'
-ni-	'nearative'
-V:ta-	2-3 Future Tense

Wuliwy.pacha.t jut.i. 'They came from all parts of Bolivia'

-ta	'from'
juta-	'come'
-i	3-3 Simple Tense

The distinction between -pacha$_1$ and -pacha$_2$ is shown clearly in the following:

p"axs.pacha.t 'from all over the moon' (-pacha$_1$)

p"axsi.t.pach 'from the moon itself' (-pacha$_2$)

3.16.2 -mpi$_1$ plus -pacha$_1$

3.16.21 on a single substantive

Jat"a.mp.pach ap.xaru.waya.m.xa. 'Get ready to take the seed with you, too.'

jat"a	'seed'
apa-	'take'
-xaru-	'preparative' (Chapter VI, 2.27.7)
-waya-	'distancer' (Chapter VI, 2.34)
-m	2-3 Imperative Tense
-xa	syntactic suffix

3.16.22 on two substantives

Yapu.mp.pach uta.mp.pach alj.i 'He sold all the fields and all the houses.'

yapu	'field'
uta	'house'
alja-	'sell'
-i	3-3 Simple Tense

Otner examples of -mp.pach- are given in 4.22.33.

3.2 Class II Substantive Suffixes

Class II suffixes occur in fixed order after the Class I suffixes and before the Class III thematic alternators. They occur on all types of substantives.

3.21 Relational Complement Suffixes

The relational complement suffixes are in the same order class and may not cooccur on one stem.[23] They are:

Directional	-ru	'to, toward'
Directional	-ta	'of, from'
Beneficiary/Purposive	-taki	'for, on behalf of'
Agentive/Instrumental	-mpi$_2$	'with'
Possessive/Locational	-na	'of, in, on, at'

Each of these suffixes may occur in either of two functions:

1) to mark human complements of the verb inflection suffix or 2) to mark the relations of other substantives (human and non-human) to the verb stem or to some other part of the sentence.

- 3.21.1 -ru
  - 3.21.11 on human substantives - Complement and Directional
    - 3.21.11.1 with an inflected verb
      - 3.21.11.11 -ru complement
        - 3.21.11.11.1 without -ya- causative on verb
        - 3.21.11.11.2 with -ya- causative on verb
      - 3.21.11.12 -ru directional
    - 3.21.11.2 without an inflected verb
  - 3.21.12 On non-human substantives - Directional
    - 3.21.12.1 with an inflected verb
    - 3.21.12.2 without an inflected verb
  - 3.21.13 -ru Complement and -ru Directional in one sentence

3.21.1 -ru 'to, toward'

This suffix requires a preceding vowel. It keeps its vowel before syntactic suffixes, but loses it before suffixes that require a preceding consonant.

3.21.11 On human substantives

If there is an inflected verb in the sentence, -ru may mark a human noun, pronoun, or corresponding interrogative (k"iti, kawki.:.ri, or kawk.n.i.:.ri) as complement of the verb inflection, or as a directional. If there is no inflected verb in the sentence, -ru may mark a human substantive as directional.

3.21.11.1 with an inflected verb

3.21.11.11 Human substantives as -ru complement

A -ru complement may occur in any sentence when the verb is inflected. If the Set II verbal derivational suffix -ya- causative (Chapter VI, 2.31) occurs on the verb, -ru functions in a specific way.

3.21.11.11.1 Without -ya- causative on the verb

When there is no -ya- causative on the verb, the -ru complement is usually the person to whom or at whom the action is directed.

K"iti.*ru*.s ch'uq alja.:.ta? '*To whom* will you sell potatoes?'
3 2-3

Juma.*ru*.w ch'uq alja.:ma. 'I'll sell potatoes *to you*.'
2 1-2

k"iti	'who'
-sa	syntactic suffix
ch'uqi	'potato'
alja-	'sell'
-V:ta	2-3 Future Tense
-V:ma	1-2 Future Tense

In the first sentence, a third person substantive, *k"iti*, is the -ru complement, reflecting the third person complement of the verb inflection suffix, 2-3. In the second sentence, the second person pronoun, *juma*, is the -ru complement reflecting the second person complement of the verb inflection suffix, 1-2.

Certain verbs like *apa.ña* 'to carry' take -ru complements which are direct objects in English translation.

K"iti.*ru*.s awtu.t apa.ni? 'Who will he take in the car?'

Juma.*ru*.w awtu.t apa.:tam. 'He'll take you in the car.'

awtu	'car'
-ta	'of, from'
-ni	3-3 Future Tense
juma	'you'
-V:tam	3-2 Future Tense

3.21.11.11.2 with -ya- causative on the verb

In a sentence with -ya- causative on the verb, -ru may be used to mark the agent/actor reflected in the verb inflection complement.

First Speaker:

Jani.w naya.x um way.k.irist.ti. 'I don't want to carry the water.'

jani	'no'
-wa	syntactic suffix
naya	'I'
-xa	syntactic suffix
uma	'water'
wayu-	'carry liquid'
-ka	incompletive
-irista	1-3 Desiderative Tense
-ti	syntactic suffix

Second Speaker:

Uk"ama.x Juwanti.ru.x wayu.ya.m. 'Then please have Johnny do it.'
3 2-3

uk"ama	'then'
-xa	syntactic suffix
Juwanti	Johnny (third person)
-xa	syntactic suffix
-ya-	causative
-m	2-3 Imperative Tense

Here, Juwanti is the agent caused to do something by the -ya- suffix in the verb. If there is already a first or second person -ru complement in the sentence, or if the -ya- agent is someone to whom it is desired to show respect, -mpi$_2$ is used to mark the -ya- agent. (See 3.21.4).

3.21.11.12 Human substantive as -ru directional

When there is a -taki or -mpi$_2$ complement of the verb inflection (see 3.21.3 and 3.21.4), any substantive with -ru is a directional, not a complement.[24]

3.21.11.2 Without an inflected verb

In a sentence or phrase without an inflected verb, there can be no -ru complement; any substantive occurring with -ru is therefore a directional.

K"iti.ru.s ch'uq chura.ña.xa? 'To whom should the potatoes be given?'

Parinu.ru.w chura.ña.xa. 'They should be given to the godfather.'

ch'uqi	'potato'
chura-	'give'
-ña	nominalizer
-xa	syntactic suffix
parinu	'godfather'

In the preceding sentence, parinu is the -ru directional of the nominalized verb chura.ña 'to give'. In the following sentence, parinu is the -ru directional of the nominalized verb sara.ña.

Mama.xa.mp parl.t'a.ñani parinu.r sara.ña.taki.

'We'll talk with my mother about going to the godfather.'

mama	'mother'		
-xa	first person possessive	-ñani	4-3 Future Tense
-mpi$_1$	'with'	sara-	'go'
parla-	'talk'	-ña	nominalizer
-t'a-	momentaneous	-taki	'for'

3.21.12 On non-human substantives - Directional

On a non-human substantive, -ru is always a directional, not a complement of the verb inflection (if any).

A common expression used as a sentence linker is *uk.xa.ru.x* 'and then' (1.22).

A non-human substantive with -ru may answer questions with

kawki.*ru*.s	'to where?'
kawk"a.*ru*.s	'to what place?'
qawq"a.*ru*.s	'into how many (pieces)?'
kuna.*ru*.s	'why?' (for what purpose)

3.21.12.1 With an inflected verb

A verb that commonly takes a -ru directional is *sara.ña* 'to go':[25]

Kawki.*ru*.s	sar.ta?	'Where did you go?'
Marka.ru.w	sar.ta.	'I went to town.'

sara-	'go'
-ta	2-3 and 1-3 Simple Tense
marka	'town'

Examples of verb stems that frequently take -ru directionals are:

Stem with -nta- 'into' (Chapter VI, 2.27.4)

Lapis kawk"a.*ru*.s	apa.*nt*.ta?	'What did you put the pencil in?'
Misakajuna.*ru*.w	apa.*nt*.ta.	'I put it in the drawer.'

lapis	'pencil'
apa-	'carry'
-nta-	'into'
-ta	2-3 and 1-3 Simple Tense

Stem with -ja- 'divider' (Chapter VI, 2.22)

Qawq"a.*ru*.s aych k"ar.*ja*.:.xa? 'How many pieces shall I cut the meat into?'

Pusi.*ru*.w k"ar.*ja*.:ta. 'Cut it into four pieces.'

aycha	'meat'	k"ara-	'cut'
-V:-	1-3 Future Tense	-xa	syntactic suffix
pusi	'four'	-V:ta	2-3 Future Tense

The question *kuna.ru.s* 'for what purpose?' elicits a reply without a -ru directional. Instead, the answer has a subordinate purposive with -iri$_2$ (2.12.1).

Kuna.*ru*.s sar.ta? 'Why did you go?' ('What for?')

Ch'uq al.*iri*.w sar.ta. 'I went to buy potatoes.'

sara-	'go'	-iri$_2$	purposive nominalizer
ch'uq	'potatoes'	-ta	2-3 and 1-3 Simple Tense
ala-	'buy'		

Compare this to questions with *kuna.t.s* (3.21.22.1) and *kuna.taki.s* (3.21.32).

3.21.12.2 Without an inflected verb

A non-human -ru directional may occur when there is a nominalized verb in the sentence.

Kawk"a.*ru*.s t'una.x warta.ña? 'Where does the garbage have to be taken?'

K"aya.*ru*.w warta.ña. 'It has to be taken way over there.'

t'una	'garbage'	warta-	'carry'	-ña	nominalizer

3.21.13 -ru on human and non-human substantive, in one sentence

Sentences with -ru complement (human) and -ru directional non-human may occur, as

Kuna.*ru*.s jupa.*r* chur.ta? 'Why did you give it to him?'

where *kuna.ru.s* is the directional and *jupa.r* is the -ru complement of the verb inflection suffix.

3.21.2 -ta

  3.21.21 On human substantives - Complement and Directional

    3.21.21.1 with an inflected verb

      3.21.21.11 -ta complement

      3.21.21.12 -ta directional

      3.21.21.13 -ta selctional on subject

    3.21.21.2 without an inflected verb

  3.21.22 On non-human substantives - Directional

    3.21.22.1 with an inflected verb

    3.21.22.2 without an inflected verb

  3.21.23 -ta Complement and -ta Directional in one sentence

  3.21.24 -ta Complement and -ta Subject in one sentence

3.21.2 -ta 'from, of'

This suffix must be distinguished from four other homophonous suffixes, shown below with their morphophonemics:

-VtaV	nominalizer (2.12.3)
-Cta-	verbal derivational inceptive, 'up from'
-CtaC	verbal inflection 1-3 Simple Tense
-CtaV	verbal inflection 2-3 Simple Tense

The suffix -ta directional must be preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant. This distinguishes it from -ta nominalizer, which keeps its vowel before syntactic suffixes.

The suffix -ta directional may occur preceded by the substantive locational suffix -xa 'on' as -xa.ta, or separated from it by one or more intervening suffixes as -xa...ta, in either case with the meaning 'about, concerning.' This -xa.ta must be distinguished from -xata- verbal derivational, a unitary suffix meaning 'toward, up to' (Chapter VI, 2.25.3). Examples of -xa.ta and -xa...ta, both equally acceptable, are:

Aymara.mp.xa.t inklisa.mp.xa.t parla.m.

'Talk about Aymara and English.'

Aymar.xa.mpi.t inklis.xa.mpi.t parla.m.

'Talk about Aymara and English.'

-mpi$_1$	'conjoiner'
parla-	'talk'
-m	2-3 Imperative Tense

3.21.21 On human substantives

If there is an inflected verb in the sentence, -ta may mark a human noun, pronoun, or interrogative (k"iti, kawki.:.ri, or kawk.n.i.:.ri) as complement of the verb inflection, if there is no -ru complement. If there is a -ru complement or a -taki complement (3.21.3), or if there is no inflected verb in the sentence or phrase, -ta may mark a human substantive as directional.

3.21.21.1 With an inflected verb

3.21.21.11 Human substantive as -ta complement

K"iti.t.s asn may.t'a.ni.way.i?
3-3

'From whom did he borrow the donkey on the way?'

Naya.t may.t'a.ni.way.*itu.*
1 3-1

'He borrowed it from me on the way.'

asnu	'donkey'
mayi-	'borrow'
-t'a-	momentaneous
-ni-	'nearative'
-waya-	'distancer'
-i	3-3 Simple Tense
naya	'I'
-itu	3-1 Simple Tense

In the first sentence, *k"iti* (third person) is the -ta complement, reflecting the complement of the verb inflection, 3-3. In the second sentence, *naya* (first person) is the -ta complement, reflecting the complement person of the verb inflection, 3-1.

3.21.21.12 Human substantive as -ta directional

If there is a -ru complement or a -taki complement in the sentence, it takes precedence over -ta.[24] Most verbs seem more inclined to take -ru or -taki complements, than -ta complements. That is, the verbal inflection suffix tends to reflect the relations of the subject person *to* or *for* the complement person, rather than *from* the complement person to the subject person.

An example of a verb that prefers a -ru complement is *parla.ña* 'to talk.'

Jum.xa.*t* parl.i. 'He's talking about you.'
2 3-3
is more common than

Jum.xa.*t*. parl.tam. 'He's talking about you', although the second is
2 3-2
acceptable to Aymara native speakers. It seems that in the first sentence

the verb inflection suffix reflects a -ru complement that is unexpressed. If it were expressed, the sentence might be:

Jum.xa.t Mariya.r parl.i. 'He's talking about you to Mary.'
2 3 3-3

Even if no specific person is mentioned, the sentence Jum.xa.t parl.i implies the existence of someone to whom the talking is directed. In this case, the substantive with -ta is a directional, rather than a -ta complement.

A verb with -rapi- in the stem will take a complement which will be expressed in the sentence by a substantive with the suffix -taki (see 3.21.3). If there is a -ta on a human substantive in the sentence, it will be a directional.

3.21.21.13 -ta directional as selectional, on subject

A human substantive which corresponds to the subject person of the verb inflection may take -ta as a selectional, as in

Juma.naka.t.x qawq"a.ni.s iwisa.ni.:.p.x.ta?
2 2-3

'Of you, how many are sheep-owners?'

juma	'you'	iwisa	'sheep'
-naka	plural	-ni	possessor/enumerator
-ta	'of, from'	-V:-	verbalizer
-xa	syntactic suffix	-p-	verbal pluralizer
qawq"a	'how many'	-xa$_3$-	plural completive
-ni	possessor/enumerator	-ta	2-3 Simple Tense
-sa	syntactic question suffix		

3.21.21.2 Without an inflected verb

-ta may occur on a human substantive as directional, when there is no inflected verb in the sentence.

K"iti.t.s. qullq mayi.ña? 'From whom does money have to be borrowed?'

Jupa.t qullq mayi.ña. 'Money has to be borrowed from him.'

qullq	'money'
mayi-	'borrow'
-ña	nominalizer

3.21.22 On non-human substantives

On a non-human substantive, -ta is always a directional, not a complement of the verb inflection (if any).

A common sentence linker is uka.t 'then' (1.22).

Other common expressions with -ta are:

wilta.t	'again'	(Spanish de vuelta. 'again')
q"ipa.t	'afterwards, later'	(q"ipa 'behind')
alwa.t	'early'	(Spanish alba, 'dawn')

A non-human substantive with -ta may answer the questions kawki.t.s 'where?', kawk"a.t.s 'what place?', or kuna.t.s 'why, what of?'

3.21.22.1 With an inflected verb

Kawki.t.s mistu.ni? 'Where will he come out from?'

Iskuyla.t mistu.ni. 'He will come out of the school.'

mistu-	'come out'
-ni	3-3 Future Tense
iskuyla	'school'

Kawki.t.s sirwis ala.n.ta? 'Where did you buy beer?'

Tinta.t ala.n.ta. 'I bought it at the store.'

sirwisa	'beer'
ala-	'buy'
-ni-	'nearative'
-ta	2-3 and 1-3 Simple Tense
tinta	'store'

Kawk"a.t.s suy.t'.ita:ta? 'Where will you wait for me?'

K"a: pampat suy.t'a.:.ma. 'I'll wait for you on that pampa.'

suya-	'wait'	k"a:	'over there'
-t'a-	momentaneous	pampa	'pampa, flat place'
-ita:ta	2-1 Future Tense	-V:ma	1-2 Future Tense

Kuna.t.rak jan awisa.ya.n.ista? 'Why didn't you let me know?'

-raki	independent suffix (complainer)
jani	'no'
awisa-	'notify'
-ya-	causative
-ni-	'nearative'
-ista	2-1 Simple Tense

This last type of question is answered by a sentence without -ta on a substantive unless it is a resumator, as is uka in the following:

Timpu.w jan ut.j.ka.:n.ti, uka.t jan awisa.ya.n.k.sma.ti.

'There wasn't time, that's why I didn't notify you.'

timpu	'time'	-ka-	incompletive
-wa	syntactic suffix	-:na	3-3 Remote Personal Knowledge
uta	'house'	-ti	syntactic suffix
-ja-	verbalizer	uka	'that'
		-sma	1-2 Simple Tense

Kuna.t.s parla.s.k.i? 'Why is he talking?/What is he talking of?'

parla-	'talk'
$-si_2-$	continuative
-ka-	incompletive
-i	3-3 Simple Tense

Ambiguity in the above sentence may be eliminated by use of the combination -xa.ta on kuna.

Kun.xa.t.s parla.s.k.i? 'What is he talking about?'

Aymar.xa.t parla.s.k.i. 'He's talking about Aymara.'

-xa	'over, on'

It is clear from the above examples that the meaning of -ta is partially tied to the verb stem with which it occurs. Probably all the carrying or motion verbs in Aymara may take -ta directionals, as in the following examples of the verb root apa- 'carry' plus the verbal derivational suffixes -ta- 'up from', -su- 'out of,' and -qa- 'down from.'

Lapis kawk"a.t.s ap.t.ta? 'Where did you pick up the pencil from?'

Misa.pata.t ap.t.ta. 'I picked it up off the top of the table.'

Lapis kawk"a.t.s ap.s.ta? 'What did you take the pencil out of?'

Misa.kajuna.t ap.s.ta. 'I took it out of the drawer.'

Lapis kawk"a.t.s apa.q.ta? 'What did you take the pencil down from?'

Ripisa.t apa.q.ta. 'I took it down from the shelf.'

A particular instrumental use of -ta (not to be confused with the instrumental use of $-mpi_2$; see 3.21.4) is with expressions of carrying or taking in a vehicle or on a pack animal as in

Ch'uq asnu.t k"umu.:.xa. 'I'll take the potatoes on the donkey.'

ch'uqi	'potato'	-V:	1-3 Future Tense
asnu	'donkey'	-xa	syntactic suffix
k"umu-	'carry on pack animal'		

See also the example with the verb apa.ña 'to carry' given for -ru complement. (3.21.11.11.1).

3.21.22.2 without an inflected verb

Kawki.t.s ch'uq ala.ni.ña? 'Where do potatoes have to be bought?'

P"irya.t ch'uq ala.ni.ña. 'Potatoes have to be bought at the market.'

ch'uqi	'potato'	-ña	nominalizer
ala-	'buy'	p"irya	'market'
-ni-	'nearative'		

3.21.23 -ta complement and -ta directional in one sentence

Sentences with a -ta complement (human) and a -ta directional (non-human) may occur, as in the question

Kuna.t.s	jupa.t	qullq	may.ta?	'Why did you borrow money from him?'
	3		2-3	

jupa	'he'	mayi-	'borrow'
qullq^{i}	'money'	-ta	2-3 Simple Tense

As indicated above (3.21.22.1), this kind of sentence will have no -ta in the answer unless it is on a resumator.

3.21.24 -ta complement and -ta selectional subject in one sentence

Juma.naka.t.x	qawq"a.ni.s	jupa.t	qullq	mayi.p.x.ta?
2		3		2-3

'How many of you borrowed money from him?'

juma	'you'	jupa	'he'
-naka	plural	qullq^{i}	'money'
-xa	syntactic suffix	mayi-	'borrow'
qawq"a	'how many'	-p-	plural
-ni	enumerator	$-xa_3-$	plural completive
-sa	syntactic suffix	-ta	2-3 Simple Tense

3.21.3 -taki Beneficiary/Purposive
  3.21.31 On human substantives - Beneficiary
    3.21.31.1 With an inflected verb
      3.21.31.11 -taki complement with -rapi-
      3.21.31.12 -taki beneficiary without -rapi-
      3.21.31.13 -taki complement and -taki beneficiary with -rapi-
    3.21.31.2 Without an inflected verb
  3.21.32 On non-human substantives - Purposive
    3.21.32.1 With an inflected verb
    3.21.32.2 Without an inflected verb
  3.21.33 -taki Beneficiary and -taki Purposive in one sentence.

3.21.3 -taki Beneficiary/Purposive

-taki 'for, on behalf of' requires a preceding vowel in all occurrences except *kun.taki*, a variant of *kuna.taki* 'what for.' It keeps its own vowel before syntactic suffixes but loses it before suffixes requiring a preceding consonant.

3.21.31 On human substantives

If there is an inflected verb in the sentence, and the verb stem contains the suffix -rapi- verbal beneficiary, -taki may mark a human noun, pronoun, or interrogative as complement of the verb inflection. There may also be a -taki beneficiary which is not a complement, in a sentence with or without -rapi.

3.21.31.1 With an inflected verb

3.21.31.11 -taki complement with -rapi-. A -taki complement takes precedence over a -ru or -ta human directional, if any.[24]

The precedence is illustrated below.

-ru complement:

Jupa.r ch'uq chura.m 'Give potatoes to her.'
3 2-3

jupa	'her'
ch'uqi	'potato'
chura-	'give'
-m	2-3 Imperative Tense

-taki complement with -ru directional:

K"iti.taki.s (jupa.r) (ch'uq) chura.rapi.:.xa?
3 1-3

'On whose behalf shall I give her potatoes?'

Naya.taki.w (jupa.r) (ch'uq) chura.rap.ita:ta.
1 2-1

'Give them to her on my behalf.'

-V:-	1-3 Future Tense
-xa	syntactic suffix
-ita:ta	2-1 Future Tense

In the first sentence above, the -ru complement, jupa, reflects the third person verb inflection complement. In the second and third sentences, the -taki complement reflects the verb inflection complement, and the substantive with -ru is a directional, if it is stated in the sentence.

-ta complement:

Jupa.t kis ala.ni.:. 'I'll buy cheese from him.'
3 1-3

jupa	'him'	ala-	'buy'
-ta	'from'	-ni-	'nearative'
kisu	'cheese'	-V:	1-3 Future Tense

-taki complement with -ta directional:

K"iti.taki.s (jupa.t) (kis) ala.rapi.:ta?
3 3 2-3

'On whose behalf will you buy cheese from him?'

Juma.taki.w (jupa.t) (kis) ala.rapi.:ma.
2 3 1-2

'I'll buy cheese from him on your behalf.'

-V:ta	2-3 Future Tense
-V:ma	1-2 Future Tense

Again, whereas the -ta complement reflects the verb inflection complement in the first sentence, in the second and third the -taki complement does, and the substantive with -ta is a directional, whether or not the -ta directional is stated in the sentence.

3.21.31.12 -taki beneficiary without -rapi- in the verb

When there is no -rapi- in the verb stem, there may still be a -taki beneficiary in the sentence.

Juma.r jupa.tak ch'uq alja.:ma.
2 1-2

'I will sell you potatoes for (you to deliver/transmit etc. to) him.'

juma	'you'	alja-	'sell'
-ru	'to'	-V:ma	1-2 Future Tense
jupa	'he'		

In this type of sentence, the -taki- beneficiary is a goal to be reached through the -ru complement.

3.21.31.13 -taki complement and -taki beneficiary, with -rapi

With -rapi on the verb, there may be a -taki complement and a -taki beneficiary.

Ch'uq jupa.tak apa.rap.ita naya.taki.wa.
3 2-1 1

'Take potatoes for (delivery to) him, on my behalf.'

-ita 2-1 Imperative

Here, jupa 'he' is the beneficiary and naya 'I' is the -taki complement.

3.21.31.2 Without an inflected verb

-taki may occur as beneficiary on a human substantive when there is no inflected verb in the sentence.

K"iti.taki.s ch'uq ala.ni.rapi.ña?

'For whom do potatoes have to be bought?'

Mariyanu.taki.w ala.ni.rapi.ña.

'They have to be bought for Mariano.'

Naya.taki.x jiwa.ki.w. 'For me, it's beautiful. (It's beautiful to me.)

naya	'me'
-xa	syntactic suffix
jiwa	'beautiful'
-ki	independent suffix, 'just'
-wa	syntactic suffix

Aka.x juma.taki.w. 'This is for you.'

3.21.32 On non-human substantives, -taki is a purposive or goal. It answers the questions kuna.taki.s 'what for', kawki.taki.s 'for where', and kawk"a.taki.s 'for what place.' It occurs commonly on verbs nominalized by the suffix -ña, in the combination -ña.taki (2.12.23) which answers the question kuna.taki.s 'what for?'

3.21.32.1 With an inflected verb

Kuna.taki.s sar.ta? 'What did you go for?'

Ch'uq ala.ña.taki.w sar.ta. 'I went to buy potatoes.'

sara-	'go'	ala-	'buy'
-ta	2-3 and 1-3 Simple Tense	-wa	syntactic suffix

Compare this to questions with kuna.ru.s 'why' (3.21.12.1) which are answered by a verb nominalized with the subordinate purposive -iri$_2$, and to questions with kuna.t.s 'why' (3.21.22.1).

3.21.32.2 Without an inflected verb

Kuna.taki.s sirwis ala.ni.ña? 'Why does beer have to be bought?'

Suti.ya.ña.taki.w ala.ni.ña. 'It has to be bought for the baptism.'

sirwisa	'beer'	-ya-	'causative'
ala-	'buy'	-V:-	verbalizer
-ni	'nearative'	-wa	syntactic suffix
suti	'name'		

{Kawk"a.taki.s} aka misa.xa? {'What} place is this table for?'
{Kawki.taki.s} {'Where}

Iskuyla.taki.w. 'It's for the school.'

See also the example under 2.12.23.

3.21.33 -taki Beneficiary and -taki Purposive in one sentence

A sentence with a -taki Beneficiary(human) and a -taki Purposive (non-human) may occur, as in the question

Kun.taki.s kis ala.rapi.:.ta jupa.taki?

'Why are you going to buy cheese on his behalf?'

(See 3.21.31.11, above).

- 3.21.4 -mpi$_2$ Agentive/Instrumental
  - 3.21.41 On human substantives - Agentive
    - 3.21.41.1 with an inflected verb
      - 3.21.41.11 -mpi$_2$ with -ya- on verb
        - 3.21.41.11.1 -mpi$_2$ agentive complement; no -ru directional
        - 3.21.41.11.2 -mpi$_2$ agentive with -ru complement
        - 3.21.41.11.3 -mpi$_2$ agentive complement with -ru directional
        - 3.21.41.11.4 ambiguity with -ya- on verb
      - 3.21.41.12 -mpi$_2$ with -si$_1$- on verb
    - 3.21.41.2 without an inflected verb
  - 3.21.42 On non-human substantives - Instrumental
    - 3.21.42.1 with an inflected verb
    - 3.21.42.2 without an inflected verb
  - 3.21.43 -mpi$_2$ Agentive and -mpi$_2$ Instrumental in one sentence

3.21.4 -mpi$_2$ Agentive/Instrumental

This suffix has the same morphophonemics as -mpi$_1$, requiring a preceding vowel, but its distribution and functions are different. -mpi$_2$ marks the human agent or non-human instrument of the action.

3.21.41 On human substantives

3.21.41.1 With an inflected verb

-mpi$_2$ may occur on a human substantive to mark it as agent when the verb stem contains -ya-, or to mark it as a complement when the verb stem contains -si$_1$.

3.21.41.11 $-mpi_2$ with -ya-

3.21.41.11.1 $-mpi_2$ agentive complement; no -ru directional or complement

As indicated in 3.21.11.11.2, if there is the suffix -ya- causative on the verb, -ru may be used to mark the agent caused to do something. However, if it is desired to show respect to the agent, $-mpi_2$ may instead be used.

Jani.w naya.x ch'uñ chur.k.irist.ti.

'I don't want to give chuño.'

Uk"ama.x mama.ma.mpi.y chura.ya.m.
3 2-3

'Then you have your mother do it.'

jani	'no'	uk"ama	'then'
-wa	syntactic suffix	-xa	syntactic suffix
naya	'I'	mama	'mother'
ch'uñu	'freeze-dried potato, chuno'	-ma	second person possessive
chura-	'give'	-ya	politive, syntactic suffix
-ka-	incompletive	-m	2-3 Imperative Tense
-irista	1-3 Desiderative Tense		
-ti	syntactic suffix		

Here, the $-mpi_2$ complement, mama.ma 'your mother', is third person and corresponds to the complement person of the verb inflection suffix, 2-3.

3.21.41.11.2 -mpi$_2$ agentive with -ru complement

A substantive marked with -mpi$_2$ does not always correspond to the complement of the verb inflection suffix when there is -ya- in the verb stem. In the following example, the -ru complement, rather than the -mpi$_2$ agentive, reflects the verb inflection suffix complement. This occurs when the recipient of the action is first or second person while the agent is third person.

Juwanti.x	Mariya.mpi.w	juma.r	ch'uq	chura.ya.:tam.
3	3	2		3-2

'John will have Mary give you potatoes.'

	-mpi$_2$	-ru
	3	2

-xa	syntactic suffix
-wa	syntactic suffix
juma	'you'
-ru	'to'
ch'uqi	'potato'
chura-	'give'
-V:tam	3-2 Future Tense

Here, the -ru complement, juma, corresponds to the verb inflection complement.

3.21.41.11.3 -mpi$_2$ agentive complement with -ru directional

If the -ya- agent is first, second, or fourth person, the verb inflection complement will reflect it, and -mpi$_2$ will mark a human substantive as the agent. There may also be a -ru directional in the sentence.[24]

Juwanti.x	juma.mpi.w	ch'uq	chura.ya.:tam	Mariya.ru.
3	2		3-2	3

'John will have you give Mary potatoes.'

3.21.41.11.4 Ambiguity

As the above examples show, if neither -ru nor -mpi$_2$ appears in a sentence having -ya- in the verb, the sentence may be ambiguous. If so, stating the -ru and -mpi$_2$ complements is not semantically redundant (see 0.3, above), although the sentence is perfectly grammatical without them.

Juwanti.x ch'uq chura.ya.:tam.
3 3-2

'John will have X give you potatoes./ John will have you give potatoes to X.'

Further research will be needed to determine which, if either, of the two interpretations is the favored one, and in what contexts.

3.21.41.12 -mpi$_2$ with -si$_1$

As indicated in Chapter VI, 2.32, the verbal derivational suffix -si$_1$ reflexive has complex effects on verb complements. One kind of complement which -si$_1$ may take is an -mpi$_2$ complement.

Kuna.t.s jupa.mp uñ.kata.s.ta? 'Why do you hate him?'

kuna	'what'	uña-	'look'
-ta	'of, from'	-kata-	'across'
-sa	syntactic suffix	-ta	2-3 Simple Tense

3.21.41.2 Without an inflected verb

K"iti.mpi.s chura.ya.ña? 'Who should it be given by?'

Jupa.mpi.w chura.ya.ña. 'It should be given by him.'

The above two sentences are possible, but not common. The second person cannot be the -mpi$_2$ agent in this type of sentence, that is, the following is not possible: *Juma.mpi.w chura.ya.ña.

Instead, an inflected verb must be used.

The following are also possible, but sound a little odd.

K"iti.mpi.s un.kata.si.ña? 'Who's to be looked at/hated?'

Tata Mariy.mpi.w uñ.kata.si.ña. 'Mr. Mario's to be looked at/hated.'

3.21.42 On non-human substantives

On non-human substantives, -mpi$_2$ occurs to mark the instrument of the action, answering questions with kuna.mpi.s 'with what?' and qawq"a.mpi.s 'with how much?'

3.21.42.1 With an inflected verb

Qawq"a.mpi.s ala.s.ta? 'How much did you pay for it?'

P"isqa tunka.mpi.w ala.s.ta. 'I paid fifty for it.'

-sa	syntactic suffix
ala-	'buy'
-si$_1$	reflexive
-ta	2-3 Simple Tense
p"isqa	'five'
tunka	'ten'

Kuna.mpi.s jiru.p.x.i. 'What did he stir with?'

Lawa.mpi.w jiru.p.x.i. 'He stirred with a stick.'

lawa	'stick'
jiru-	'stir'
-p-	verbal pluralizer
-xa$_3$	plural completive
-i	3-3 Simple Tense

3.21.42.2 Without an inflected verb

Kuna.mpi.s manq'a.ña? 'What's it eaten with?'

Chayru.mpi.w manq'a.ña. 'It's eaten with chayrü.'

manq'a-	'eat'	-ña	nominalizer

3.21.43 -mpi$_2$ Agentive and -mpi$_2$ Instrumental in one sentence

Sentences such as the following are possible.

K"iti.*mpi*.s lawa.*mp* jiru°ya.:ta?

'Who will you have stir it with a stick?' (see 3.21.42.1)

Here *k"iti* has -mpi$_2$ agentive and *lawa* has -mpi$_2$ instrumental.

3.21.5 -na Possessive/Locational

- 3.21.51 On human substantives - Possessive
  - 3.21.51.1 with an inflected verb
    - 3.21.51.11 -na complement
      - 3.21.51.11.1 with -raqa- on verb
      - 3.21.51.11.2 without -raqa- on verb
    - 3.21.51.12 -na modifier
      - 3.21.51.12.1 of subject
      - 3.21.51.12.2 of verbalized sustantive
  - 3.21.51.2 without an inflected verb
- 3.21.52 On non-human substantives - Locational and Possessive
  - 3.21.52.1 Locational
  - 3.21.52.2 Possessive
- 3.21.53 -na Possessive and -na Locational in one sentence

3.21.5 -na Possessive/Locational

The suffix -na expresses possession on human substantives, and possession or location on non-human substantives. It requires a preceding vowel, and drops its own vowel before succeeding suffixes except -ki independent.

3.21.51 On human substantives - Possessive

-na turns a human substantive into a possessive modifier of another substantive. (Compare this function with that of -ni, 3.12.) It marks the modifier in a possessive phrase whose head is marked by one of the personal possessive suffixes (3.13), as in naya.n uta.xa 'my house' ('I-of house-my')

naya	'I'	-xa	first person possessive
uta	'house'		

The substantive with -na modifies the possessed substantive and therefore always comes first in the phrase, in keeping with Aymara substantive phrase structure. (See 4.21.)

3.21.51.1 With an inflected verb

3.21.51.11 -na complement

-na may mark the complement of the verb inflection suffix when the suffix -raqa- 'victimary' is on the verb, and when it is not.

3.21.51.11.1 With -raqa- on the verb

With the 'victimary' suffix -raqa- on the verb, -na occurs on the possessor who is the victimized complement of the action. (See 2.2.) In the following examples, the possessed substantive is a zero complement (3.23) of the verb stem.

K"iti.n wutilya.p.s. jala.q.ta.ya.raq.i?
3 3-3

'Whose bottle did he (maliciously) knock over?'

Juma.n wutilya.m jala.q.ta.ya.raq.tam.
2 3-2

'He knocked over your bottle (to make you mad).'

k"iti	'who'	-qa-	'down'
wutilya	'bottle'	-ta-	inceptive
-pa	third person possessive	-ya-	causative
-sa	syntactic suffix	-tam	3-2 Simple Tense
jala-	'knock over'		

An interrogative or pronoun with -n.k.iri (3.31) may also serve as zero complement of the verb stem.

In the following example, the possessed substantive is not expressed:

Juma.n.x kun.s jala.q.ta.ya.raq.tam?
2 3-2

'What of yours did he knock over?'

(This sentence is partially parallel to the one with -ta directional marking the subject, 3.21.21.13.)

3.21.51.11.2 Without -raqa- on the verb

In a sentence without -raqa- on the verb, -na marks the complement of the verb inflection suffix when the subject belongs to the complement, i.e.

Juma.n.x qawq"a.s uta.x. ut.j.tam?
2 3 3-2

'How many houses do you have?' ('Of you how many houses exist?')

Naya.n pusi uta.xa.w ut.j.itu.
1 3 3-1

'I have four houses.'

juma	'you'	-tam	3-2 Simple Tense
qawq"a	'how many'	naya	'I'
uta	'house'	pusi	'four'
-xa	syntactic suffix	-xa	first person possessive
-ja-	verbalizer	-itu	3-1 Simple Tense

In the above sentences, the subjects are 'how many houses' and 'four houses', while the complements are 'you' and 'I'.

(Compare the above with the expression of possession with the substantive suffix -ni possessor/enumerator plus -V:- verbalizer (3.12). Also, see the partially parallel sentence with -ta directional on the subject, 3.21.21.13).

Special expressions are k"iti.n uk 'whose house', literally 'whose that', and maya.n ak 'in one house'. (See 1.22.2.)

3.21.51.12 -na possessor

When it is not a complement, a human substantive with -na in a sentence having an inflected verb is the possessor of a complement (-ru, -ta, -taki, or $-mpi_2$), of the subject, or of the verbalized substantive. Examples of -na as possessor of complement are given in 4.3. Below are examples of -na possessor of the subject and -na possessor of the verbalized substantive.

3.21.51.12.1 of subject

```
Naya.n  wawa.xa.x  junt'u  um  um.i.
 1        3                    3-3
```

'My child ate breakfast.'

naya	'I'
wawa	'child'
-xa	first person possessive
-xa	syntactic suffix
junt'u	'hot'
uma	'water' (junt'u uma = 'breakfast')
uma-	'drink'
-i	3-3 Simple Tense

3.21.51.12.2 of verbalized substantive

Jupa.n p̈ucha.pa.:.t.wa. 'I am her daughter.'

jupa	'she'
p̈ucha	'daughter'
-pa	third person possessive
-V:-	verbalizer
-ta	1-3 Simple Tense
-wa	syntactic suffix

3.21.51.2 without an inflected verb

If the subject is third person and the tense Simple, there will be no inflection in a sentence analogous to those under the preceding paragraph, and -n will mark a possessor which is not a verb inflection complement.

Jupa.n pucha.pa.wa. 'She (is) her daughter.'

Other examples are:

Aka.x naya.n misa.xa.wa. 'This is my table.'

aka	'this'
-xa	syntactic suffix
naya	'I'
misa	'table'
-xa	first person possessive
-wa	syntactic suffix

Juma.n.x kuna.s suti.ma.xa? 'What is your name?'

Naya.n suti.xa.x Pirut Apasa.wa. 'My name is Pedro Apasa.'

juma	'you'	-ma	second person possessive
-xa	syntactic suffix	naya	'I'
kuna	'what'	-xa	first person possessive
-sa	syntactic suffix	-xa	syntactic suffix
suti	'name'	-wa	syntactic suffix

3.21.52 On non-human substantives - Locational and Possessive

On non-human substantives -na marks location or possession.

3.21.52.1 -na Locational

-na locational answers the questions kawki.n.s 'in/at where' and kawk"a.n.s 'in/at what place', as well as the common derived form kawk.sa.tuqi.n.s 'around where'.

Misa.pata.n challwa.x wist'iki.s.ka.:n.

'On top of the table, the fish flopped around.'

misa	'table'	wist'iki-	'move the tail'
pata	'top'	-si$_2$-	continuative
challwa	'fish'	-ka-	incompletive
-xa	syntactic suffix	-V:n	3-2 Remote Personal Knowledge Tense

Kawk.sa.tuqi.n.s ut.ja.:na? 'Around where did he live?'

Qumpi.tuqi.n ut.ja.:na. 'He lived around Qumpi.'

-sa	'side'	-ja-	verbalizer
uta	'house'	-V:na	3-3 Remote Personal Knowledge Tense

3.21.52.2 -na Possessive

-na may also occur on non-human substantives as a possessive, in which case it marks the modifier in a possessive phrase (see 3.21.51).

wip"ala.n kulura.p.jama.w 'like the colors of the flag'

wip"ala	'flag'
kulura	'color'
-pa	third person possessive
-jama	'like'
-wa	syntactic suffix

Uta.n punku.pa.wa. 'It's the door of the house.'

uta	'house'	-pa	third person possessive
punku	'door'	-wa	syntactic suffix

(See other examples in 4.31.3.)

3.21.53 -na Possessive and -na Locational in one sentence

In the following example uta.n 'in the house' is verbalized with the Class III suffix -ka-. Other complex formations of -na possessive or locational followed by -ka- verbalizer and 1) verb inflection or 2) renominalization with -ña or -iri, are discussed in 3.31.

Naya.n wawa.xa.x uta.n.ka.s.k.i.wa.
3 3-3

'My baby is in the house.'

naya	'I'
wawa	'baby'
-xa	first person possessive
uta	'house'
-ka-	verbalizer
$-si_2-$	continuative
-ka-	incompletive
-i	3-3 Simple Tense
-wa	syntactic suffix

3.22 Final Class II Suffixes

The suffixes -pacha 'the same, itself', -kama 'until, up to', and -jama 'like' are the last Class II suffixes to occur before zero complement vowel dropping. They follow all other Class II suffixes except zero. Rather late in the research, it was discovered that -jama may follow -kama on the same stem. (See end of 3.22.32.) The suffix -pacha$_2$ has not cooccurred with either in the data for this study.

3.22.1 -pacha$_2$ 'the same, the very, itself'

As indicated above (3.16) there are in Aymara one pacha noun root and four -pacha suffixes, two of them substantive suffixes. -pacha$_1$ is distinguished from -pacha$_2$ by distribution, in that the former occurs before the relational suffixes, while the latter occurs after them. When they occur without one of the relationals it is not always possible to know which is occurring, as the meaning may be obscured in translation. As already mentioned, the two suffixes have the same morphophonemics, requiring a preceding consonant.

Some clear-cut occurrences of -pacha$_2$ are:

Uka mar.pacha.w sar.i. 'He went in that same year.'

uka	'that'	sara-	'go'
mara	'year'	-i	3-3 Simple Tense
-wa	syntactic suffix		

Jiwas.pach sara.ñani. 'We ourselves will go.'

jiwasa 'we'

-ñani 4-3 Future Tense

uk"am.pacha 'in the same way'

uk"ama 'like that'

The pair given in 3.16 illustrate the contrast neatly:

p"axsi.t.pach 'from the moon itself' (-pacha$_2$)

p"axs.pacha.t 'from all over the moon' (-pacha$_1$)

- 3.22.2 -kama
- 3.22.21 on human substantives
- 3.22.22 on non-human substantives
    - 3.22.22.1 expressions of place
    - 3.22.22.2 summarizing expressions
    - 3.22.22.3 expressions of time
    - 3.22.22.4 expressions of price or quantity
        - 3.22.22.41 price
        - 3.22.22.42 quantity

3.22.2 -kama Aggregate/Attainer

The suffix -kama occurs on all substantives except personal pronouns. It may be followed by -jama (3.22.3) on at least one root, the interrogative kawki 'where', and by zero complement (3.23)[25].

Like -layku and -tuqi, -kama requires a preceding vowel when it occurs on a two-vowel root, but when it occurs on a root, stem, or substantive phrase having three or more vowels, it requires a preceding consonant.

3.22.21 On human substantives

-kama on human substantives has an aggregating function usually translated as 'among', 'all', or 'each'.

pusi.kam	'to each of four persons'
chacha.kama	'among men'

K"iti.r.kama.s chura.:ta? 'To who-all will you give them?'

Qumpi.n.k.iri.naka.r.kama.ki.w. 'Just to all the people from Qumpi.'

k"iti	'who'	-ka-	verbalizer
-ru	'to'	$-iri_1$	nominalizer
-sa	syntactic suffix	-naka	plural
chura-	'give'	-ru	'to'
-V:ta	2-3 Future Tense	-ki	independent 'just'
-na	'in'	-wa	syntactic suffix

Qawq"a.n.kama.sa? 'How many of you are there in each (group)?'

Kimsa.n.kama.w. 'Three in each (group).'

qawq"a	'how many'
kimsa	'three'

3.22.22 On non-human substantives

On non-human substantives -kama has an attaining or summarizing function translated variously as 'up to', 'until', 'as far as', 'all', and 'while'.

Some examples are given below.

3.22.22.1 expressions of place

Kawki.kama.s?	'As far as where?'
Ch'uqi.p"in.kama.w.	'As far as the potato pile.'
ch'uqi	'potato'
p"ina	'pile'

3.22.22.2 summarizing expressions

Kuna.r.kama.s chur.a:ma? 'What-all shall I give it to you in?'

Sakillu.r.kam chur.ita. 'Give it to me all in the sack.'

-ru	'to'
-V:ma	2-1 Future Tense
sakillu	'sack'
chura-	'give'
-ita	2-1 Imperative Tense

Kun.tak.kama.sa? 'What is all this (to be traded) for?'

Jawasa.tak.kama.w. 'This is all (to be traded) for beans.'

-taki	'for'
jawasa	'beans'

Kuna.mp.kama.s llamay.ta? 'What did you hoe it all with?'

Lijwana.mp.kama.w llamay.ta. 'I hoed it all with the hoe.'

-mpi$_2$	instrumental
llamayu-	'hoe' (verb)
lijwana	'hoe' (noun)
-ta	2-3 and 1-3 Simple Tense

3.22.22.3 expressions of time

jich"a.kama	'up to now'
Kun.ur.kama.s?	'Until when?'
Q"ip.ur.kama.w.	'Until another day.' (leave - taking)
Q"ar.ur.kam.	'Until tomorrow.' (leave - taking)

jich"a	'now'
kuna	'what'
uru	'day'
q"ipa	'behind, future'
q"ar-	bound root, part of q"ar.uru 'tomorrow'

Ma: rat.kam. 'See you later,' (leave - taking)

ma:	'one'
ratu	'while'

juta.ña.p.kama 'until his coming'

juta-	'come'
-ña	nominalizer
-pa	third person possessive

iskuyla.n.ka.ña.p.kama 'while he was in school'

iskuyla	'school'
-na	'in'
-ka-	verbalizer
-ña	nominalizer
-pa	third person possessive

3.22.22.4 expressions of price or quantity, with qawq"a and numbers

3.22.22.41 price

Qawq"a.kama.s? 'How much?'

Tunka.kama.w. 'Ten (pesos).'

qawq"a	'how much'
tunka	'ten'

Qawq"a.r.kama.s? 'For how much each one?'

Pa: tunka.r.kama.w. 'For twenty each.'

-ru	'to'
pa:	'two'
tunka	'ten'

Qawq"a.mp.kama.s al.ta? 'How much did you pay for it?'

P"isqa pataka.mp.kama.w. 'Five hundred.'

-mpi$_2$	instrumental	-ta	2-3 Simple Tense		
ala-	'buy'	p"isqa	'five'	pataka	'hundred'

3.22.22.42 quantity

Qawq"a.t.kama.s? 'By what unit of measure (pound, arroba)?'

Aruwa.t.kama.w. 'By the arroba.'

-ta	'of, from'
aruwa	'arroba'

Qawq"a.kam.s waranqa.t chur.ta? 'How many do you give for a thousand (pesos)?'

P"isqa tunk.kam chur.ta. 'Fifty.'

waranqa	'thousand'	-ta	2-3 and 1-3 Simple Tense
-ta	'of, from'	p"isqa	'five'
chura-	'give'	tunka	'ten'

3.22.3 -jama ~ -ja

3.22.31 on human substantives

3.22.32 on non-human substantives

3.22.3 -jama 'like'

This suffix occurs on all classes of substantives. It has been considered an independent suffix because it has occurred on a verb stem in the sentence:

K"a: asnu.x t'aq.su.ch.jama.raki.tayna.sa!

'It looks like that donkey broke loose from his stake!'

k"a:	'that over there'	-raki	independent suffix
asnu	'donkey'	-tayna	3-3 Remote Tense
-xa	syntactic suffix	-sa	syntactic suffix
t'aqa-	'untie'		
-su-	'out'		
-chi	verbal modal conjectural		

Although in the dialect of Ms. Vasquez there have occurred other verb stems with a suffix -ja- which may be the allomorph of -jama referred to below, efforts to find completely unambiguous cases of other verb stems that will take -jama have so far been fruitless. The question of the identity of -jama needs further research. For this study, it is being considered a substantive suffix, because of its normal occurrence on substantives.

In the dialect of Ms. Vasquez -jama has an allomorph -ja which occurs in free variation with -jama and is not always easy to distinguish from the substantive suffix -ja 'quantity' (3.02). Mr. Copana has the allomorph -ja in *kims.ja.ki.w* 'I think it was three.' A portmanteau of the suffix -na possessive/locational and -jama is -nama 'through', which occurs in Ms. Vasquez' dialect.

The suffix -jama is not to be confused with the substantive root *jama* 'excrement' which often occurs modified by another substantive, e.g. *waka jama* 'cow manure'. The suffix -jama is distinguished from the root *jama* by the fact that the suffix requires a preceding consonant.[26]

-jama occurs readily on substantive roots and stems. It often follows one of the relational complement suffixes. It may be followed by zero complement, provided there is no -ru, -mpi$_2$, or -pacha$_2$ on the stem. It may be verbalized by the addition of -V:-. When -jama occurs directly on human and certain non-human substantive roots it forms a compound stem which can take Class I and II suffixes, including -jama.

3.22.31 On human substantives

The formula for the stem structure of human roots that take -jama is:

Root (-jama) (Class I) ((Relationals) -jama)

(Parentheses indicate optionality.)

This permits such possibilities as

k"it.jama.s 'like whom'

k"it.jama.nak.jama.s 'like who-all more or less'

k"it.jama.r.jama.s 'to whom more or less, more or less'

k"it.jam.jama.s 'like whom, more or less'

but not

*k"it.jama.ru.s

Examples in sentences:

K"it.jama.s juta.ta:na? '(Someone) like who came?'

Pirut.jama.w juta.ta:na. '(Someone) like Pedro came.'

k"iti 'who' -ta:na 3-3 Remote Tense

juta- 'come'

K"iti.tak.jama.s? 'For whom $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{sort of}\\ \text{more or less?}\end{matrix}\right\}$'

Jupa.tak.jama.w. 'For him more or less.'

-taki 'for'

K"it.jama.nak.jama.s sara.spa? 'Who-all may go, more or less?'

-naka plural -spa 3-3 Desiderative Tense

sara- 'go'

3.22.32 On non-human substantives

All non-human interrogatives and their related substantives may take -jama directly on the root or after relationals, though not necessarily in complete paradigms. In addition, -jama may form compound stems with the interrogative *kuna* 'what' and with substantives which can answer questions with *kun.jama.s* 'like what'. The formula for such compounds is

Root (-jama) (Class I) (Relationals) (-jama)

Some of the possibilities are:

kun.*jama*.s 'how, somehow'

kuna.r.*jama*.s 'how, somehow' (-ru 'to')

kun.*jama*.ru.s 'whatever, however'

kun.*jama*.r.*jama*.s 'more or less of what kind (color/size/shape)?'

kun.*jam*.*jama*.s 'more or less how?'

The meanings vary somewhat in translation according to context. Examples used in sentences are:

Kun.*ja:ma*.s[12] p"aya.ña? 'How is it cooked?'

Kun.*jama*.:.s.k.ta.sa. 'Anyway you like.'

p"aya-	'cook'	-ka-	incompletive
-ña	nominalizer	-ta	2-3 Simple Tense
-V:-	verbalizer	-sa	syntactic suffix
$-si_2-$	continuative		

Kun.*ja:ma*.s misa.ma.xa? 'What is your table like?'

Jach'.*jama*.wa. 'It's sort of big.'

misa	'table'	-ma	second person possessive
		-xa	syntactic suffix
jach'a	'big'	-wa	syntactic suffix

Kuna.r.*jama*.s sar.sna.sti? 'How shall we justify going?'

Wisita.r.*jama*.k sara.ñani. 'We'll just go visiting-like.'

-ru	'to'	-sti	syntactic suffix
sara-	'go'	wisita	'visit'
-sna	4-3 Desiderative Tense	-ki	independent suffix, 'just'
		-ñani	4-3 Future Tense

Kun.*jama*.ru.s tuku.ya.:.xa? 'How am I going to finish?'

Juma.ki.y kun.*jama*.ru.s tuku.ya.m. 'You'll finish somehow, by yourself.'

tuku-	'finish'	juma	'you'
-ya-	causative	-ki	'just'
-V:-	1-3 Future Tense	-ya	syntactic suffix
-xa	syntactic suffix	-m	2-3 Imperative Tense

Kun.*jama*.r.*jama*.s lur.sna.xa?

'More or less of what color/size/shape should we make it?'

Ak"ama.r.*jam* lura.ñani. 'We'll make it like this.'

lura-	'make'
-sna	4-3 Desiderative Tense
-xa	syntactic suffix
ak"ama	'like this'
-ñani	4-3 Future Tense

The interrogative *kawki* 'where' takes -kama followed by -jama in the stem *kawki.kam.jama.s* 'to where more or less.' This occurrence establishes that -kama and -jama are in different order classes, -kama preceding -jama.

3.23 Zero Complement

In Aymara, each verb root or stem takes certain substantives as direct objects of the action. These are called zero complements because they are marked by obligatory loss of the final stem vowel. Zero complements are closely tied to the verbs to which they belong, and usually immediately precede them in the sentence.[27]

A given substantive may serve as zero complement for many verb roots and stems, and each verb root or stem has many zero complements. For example, ch'uqi 'potato' and chayru 'chuño soup' are two of the zero complements of chura.ña 'to give' and p"aya.ña 'to cook', as in

Ch'uq chur.ita.	'Give me potatoes.'
Chayr chur.ita.	'Give me chuno soup.'
Ch'uq p"aya.m.	'Cook potatoes.'
Chayr p"aya.m.	'Cook chuño soup.'

As indicated in Chapter VI, 1.32.1, the substantives serving as zero complements of a given verb root may change when certain Set I verbal derivational suffixes are added to the root, showing that zero complements are tied to the verb.

The zero complements for each verb root and stem may be determined by asking a question with an appropriate interrogative as zero complement, e.g.

K"it.s t"aq.i?	'Who was he looking for?'
Pirut t"aq.i.	'He was looking for Pedro.'
Kun.s mun.ta?	'What do you want?'
Aymar yati.qa.ñ mun.ta.	'I want to learn Aymara.'
Kawk.s sar.ta?	'Where did you go?'
Mark sar.ta.	'I went to town.'
Qawq"s. may.ta?	'How much are you asking?'
Pa: tunk may.ta.	'I'm asking twenty.'

Qawq"a.kam.s chur.ta?	'How many do you give (for a peso)?'
P"isqa.kam chur.ta.	'Five.'
K"it.jam.s uñ.j.ta?	'Who-like did you see?'
Jup.jam uñ.j.ta.	'I saw someone like him.'
Kun.jam.s chur.i?	'What (was the one) he gave like?'
Ch'uxñ.jam chur.i.	'He gave the greenish one.'

Other examples are found in 2.12.12 and 4.24.

As indicated by the above examples, both human and non-human substantives of all classes may serve as zero complements. They may be roots, stems, themes, or substantive phrases. They may be followed by independent and syntactic suffixes.[28]

Substantives which carry the Class II relational suffixes -ru or -mpi$_2$ cannot also be zero complements at the same time. That is, those two relationals and the zero complement "suffix", final vowel loss, cannot occur on the same stem.[29]

Substantives which carry the relational suffixes -ta, -na, or -taki may also be zero complements if the relational is followed by -jama or -kama, and the zero falls at the end of the stem. Zero complement does not occur on stems ending in -pacha$_2$.

The same substantive may serve as a zero complement in one sentence, and as a relational in another. Some verbs may take a given substantive either as zero complement or as -ru directional or complement, as in the following pairs of sentences.

Mark sar.ta. 'I went to town.' (marka as zero complement)

Marka.ru.w. sar.ta. 'I went to town (nowhere else).'
(marka as -ru directional)

K"it.s t"aq.i? 'Who did he look for? (k"iti as zero complement)

Jupa.ru.t t"aq.ta? 'Are you looking for him (specific person)?'
(jupa as -ru complement)

In addition, -ru directionals and zero complements may cooccur in the same sentence, as shown in some of the examples given for -ru (3.21.12), such as

Qawq"a.ru.s aych k"ar.ja.:xa? 'How many (pieces) shall I cut the meat into?'

Here, qawq"a 'how many' is the -ru directional and aycha 'meat' is the zero complement.

3.3 Class III Substantive Suffixes - Thematic Alternators

There are three substantive suffixes which verbalize substantive roots, stems, and themes. They are -V:- vowel length, -ka, and -pta-. They occur directly on roots, stems, and themes. They must occur before any verbal derivational or inflectional suffixes can be added to a substantive stem or theme.[30]

A verbalizer must be followed by one or more verbal derivational suffixes of Set II (Chapter VI, 2.3) and/or a verbal inflection suffix, or by a nominalizing suffix (2.12). Verbalized substantives are defective verbs (see Chapter VII) in that while all four persons may be the subject of a verbalized substantive, only third person may be the complement. Also, verbalized substantives do not take other substantives as relationals or complements.

3.31 -ka-
- 3.31.1 on human root substantives - Possession
  - 3.31.11 -n.ka- plus verbal inflection
  - 3.31.12 -n.ka- plus nominalizer -iri$_1$
- 3.31.2 on non-human root substantives - Location
  - 3.31.21 -n.ka- plus verbal inflection
  - 3.31.22 -n.ka- plus nominalizer -iri$_1$
  - 3.31.23 -n.ka- plus nominalizer -ña

3.31 -ka-

The verbalizer -ka- is not to be confused with the homophonous verbal derivational -ka- incompletive (Chapter VI, 2.39.2) which it may precede on the same stem. Since -ka- verbal derivational requires a preceding consonant, the occurrence of both in succession results in a -k.k- cluster which usually reduces to -k- in speech. In this research, -ka- verbalizer has occurred only after -na possessive/locational (3.21.5), causing the vowel of -na to drop. That is, -ka- verbalizer requires a preceding consonant.

Stems verbalized by -ka- are frequently renominalized either by -iri$_1$ (2.12.1) or by -ña (2.12.2).

-n.k.iri and -n.ka.ña may be reverbalized by -V:- vowel length (3.32).

3.31.1 -ka- on human root substantives expressing possession

3.31.11 -n.ka- plus verbal inflection

Jupa.n.k.i.ti? 'Is it his?'

Jis, jupa.n.k.i.wa. 'Yes, it's his.'

jupa	'he'	-i	3-3 Simple Tense
-na	possessive	-ti	syntactic suffix
		-wa	syntactic suffix

3.31.12 -n.ka- plus nominalizer $-iri_1$

This combination turns a possessive modifier into a substantive theme which can stand alone as head in a phrase.

Juma.n.k.iri.x uta.n ut.j.k.i.ti? 'Is yours in the house?'

juma	'you'	-ja-	verbalizer
-xa	syntactic suffix	-ka-	incompletive
uta	'house'	-i	3-3 Simple Tense
-na	'in'	-ti	syntactic suffix

Here, juma.n.k.iri is the subject of the sentence. In the following sentence, it is the zero complement of the verb stem. However, its root juma 'you' is the verb inflectional complement, because of the presence of -raqa- verbal derivational in the verb stem:

$\underset{2}{\text{Juma.n.k.ir}}$ jala.q.ta.ya.raq.$\underset{3-2}{\text{tam}}$. 'He knocked yours over.'

This conveys the sense of the possessive phrases with -raqa- on the verb in the examples given in 3.21.51.11.1.

3.31.2 -ka- on non-human root substantives expressing location

3.31.21 -n.ka- plus verbal inflection

Uta.n.k.i.ti? 'Is it in the house?'

Jani.w uta.n.k.k.i.ti. 'No, it isn't in the house.'

uta	'house'
-i	3-3 Simple Tense
-ti	syntactic suffix
jani	'no'
-wa	syntactic suffix
-ka-	incompletive

Uta.n.ka.s.k.i.ti? 'Is he at home?'

uta	'house'
-si$_2$-	continuative
-ka-	incompletive
-ti	syntactic suffix

Liwru.x kawk"a.n.k.i.sa? 'Where is the book?'

Misa.taypi.n.k.i.w. 'In the middle of the table.'

liwru	'book'
-xa	syntactic suffix
kawk"a	'what place'
-i	3-3 Simple Tense
-sa	syntactic suffix
misa	'table'
taypi	'middle'
-wa	syntactic suffix

3.31.22 -n.ka- plus nominalizer -iri$_1$

-n.k.iri on a non-human substantive changes it to a person who is usually in a place.

ak.sa.tuqi.n.k.iri 'he who is from around here'

aka	'here'
-sa	'side'
-tuqi	'around'

3.31.23 -n.ka- plus nominalizer -ña

-n.ka.ña on a non-human substantive changes it into a person's (or animal's) existence in a place.

iskuyla.n.ka.ña.p.kama.xa 'while he was at school'

iskuyla	'school'	-kama	'while'
-pa	third person possessive	-xa	syntactic suffix

3.32 -V:-

- 3.32.1 human
  - 3.32.11 roots and stems
  - 3.32.12 nominalized themes
    - 3.32.12.1 with iri$_1$
    - 3.32.12.2 with -ta
  - 3.32.13 on verbalized, renominalized theme
- 3.32.2 non-human
  - 3.32.21 roots and stems
  - 3.32.22 nominalized themes with -ña
    - 3.32.22.1 obligation
    - 3.32.22.2 contingent obligation

3.32 -V:-

Verbalizing vowel length may occur on the last vowel of a substantive root, stem, or theme or the last vowel of an independent suffix on a substantive. It changes a substantive to a verb theme. It must be distinguished from -V:- 1-3 Future verb inflection. It does not occur directly on the relational complement suffixes but may occur on a stems or themes containing them.

When the subject of the new verb theme created by -V:- would be non-human or third person human, the substantive in question does not take -V:- verbalization. Thus we may have the following:

Chacha.:.t.wa. 'I am a man.' but Chacha.wa. 'He is a man.'

chacha	'man'
-ta	1-3 Simple Tense
-wa	syntactic suffix

Qam.iri.:.ta.wa. 'You are rich.' but Qam.iri.wa. 'He is rich.'

qama-	'stay home'
$-iri_1$	nominalizer
-ta	2-3 Simple Tense
-wa	syntactic suffix

However, if it is desired to modify the new verb theme with a verbal derivational suffix, or if it is desired to add a verbal modal suffix or any tense but Simple, then the substantive must be verbalized even if the new subject is third person or non-human.

With verbal derivational suffix (followed by inflection):

Jani.w chacha.:.k.i.ti. 'It/he is not a man.'

jani	'no'
-ka-	incompletive
-i	3-3 Simple Tense
-ti	syntactic suffix

With tense other than Simple:

Qam.iri.:.tayna.w 'He was rich.'

-tayna	3-3 Remote Non-Personal Knowledge Tense
-wa	syntactic suffix

If the suffix following -V:- requires a preceding consonant, the vowel length is shortened, but the vowel itself is retained. The amount of length varies with individual speakers and contexts.

-V:- requires a preceding vowel.

3.32.1 -V:- on human root substantives

3.32.11 on roots and stems

Juma.x k"iti.:.ta.sa? 'Who are you?'
2 2-3

Naya.x Juwana Waskisa.:.t.wa. 'I'm Juana Vasquez.'
1 1-3

juma	'you'
k"iti	'who'
-ta	2-3 and 1-3 Simple Tense
naya	'I'
-wa	syntactic suffix

Mama.pa.:.tayna.w. 'She} was his mother.'
It

mama	'mother'
-pa	third person possessive
-tayna	3-3 Remote Non-Personal Knowledge Tense
-wa	syntactic suffix

P"ucha.p.jama.:.t.wa. 'I am like a daughter to her.'

p"ucha	'daughter'
-pa	third person possessive
-jama	'like'
-ta	1-3 Simple Tense
-wa	syntactic suffix

3.32.12 on nominalized themes

3.32.12.1 on theme nominalized by $-iri_1$

Juma.x jupa.n.k.iri.:.ta.ti? 'Are you his wife?'

juma	'you'	-ka-	verbalizer
jupa	'he/she'	-ta	2-3 Simple Tense
-na	possessive	-ti	syntactic suffix

Juta.pun.iri.:̲.ta.ti?   'Do you really usually come?'

juta-	'come'
-puni	'really'
-ta	2-3 Simple Tense
-ti	syntactic suffix

Ak.sa.tuqi.n.k.iri.:̲.t.wa.   'I'm from around here.'

aka	'here'
-sa	'side'
-tuqi	'around'
-na	locational
-ka-	verbalizer
-ta	1-3 Simple Tense
-wa	syntactic suffix

3.32.12.2 on theme nominalized by -ta resultant

Usu.ta.:̲.ka.ya:t uka.x...   'When I was sick, then...'

usu-	'be sick' (usu.ta 'sick person')
-ka-	imcompletive
-ya:ta	1-3 Remote Personal Knowledge Tense
-xa	syntactic suffix

3.32.13 On verbalized, renominalized theme (see Chapter IX)

The following is an example of a theme twice verbalized by -V:-.

Manq'a.ña.:̲.wi.ni.:̲.t.wa.   'I have a party/I have guests/I have an invitation.'

manq'a-	'eat'
-wi	nominalizer, 'place'
-ni	possessor
-ta	1-3 Simple Tense
-wa	syntactic suffix

3.32.2 -V:- on non-human substantives

3.32.21 on roots and stems

Jani.w uta.:.k.i.ti. 'It's not a house.'

jani	'no'
-wa	syntactic suffix
uta	'house'
-ka-	incompletive
-i	3-3 Simple Tense
-ti	syntactic suffix

Kawk"a.:.ch.i Istarusunirus marka.s? 'Where can the United States be?'

kawk"a	'what place'
-chi	verbal modal conjectural
-i	3-3 Simple Tense
Istarusunirusa	'United States'
marka	'country'
-sa	syntactic suffix

3.32.22 on theme nominalized by -ña

3.32.22.1 expressing obligation (see 2.12.22 and 4.32.2)

3.32.22.2 expressing contingent obligation, with -ña...ch.i.y

Kuna.s ala.ni.ña.:.ch.i.y. 'Maybe something has to be bought.'

Ch'uqi.s ala.ni.ña.:.ch.i.y. 'Maybe potatoes have to be bought.'

kuna	'something, whatever'	-ni-	'nearative'
ch'uqi	'potato'	-chi	verbal modal conjectural
-sa	syntactic suffix	-i	3-3 Simple Tense
ala-	'buy'	-ya	syntactic suffix

3.33 -pta-

The verbalizer -pta- (see Chapter IX) occurs on substantives which refer to colors, shapes, and quantities, and certain stems with $-iri_1$. It also occurs on one positional: *chiqa* 'straightness, truth'. It requires a preceding vowel. Examples are:

wali.*pta*.ña	'to get well'
ch'iyara.*pta*.ña	'to turn black'
wal.ja.*pta*.ña	'to become a lot', 'to increase'
juk'a.*pta*.ña	'to become few', 'to diminish'
qam.iri.*pta*.ña	'to get rich' (qama- 'stay home')
usu.ri.*pta*.ña	'to expect a baby' (usu- 'be sick', 'be pregnant')
chiqa.*pta*.ña	'to become straight'

Attempts to find other substantives which may take -pta- resulted in the production of bizarre forms that would only occur in tales of the supernatural. For example, *jaqi.pt.i* would mean 'It (an animal or inanimate object) became human.'

3.4 Morphophonemic Summary

Substantive suffixes may be classified as shown below.

Key

1.	V- -V	Retains previous vowel and own vowel.
2.	V- -C	Retains previous vowel, drops own vowel.
3.	V- -$\overset{V}{\underset{C}{\sim}}$	Retains previous vowel. When following suffix is C- -, drops own vowel.
4.	C- -V	Drops previous vowel, retains own vowel.
5.	C- -$\overset{V}{\underset{C}{\sim}}$	Drops previous vowel. When following suffix is C- -, drops own vowel.
6.	C- -C	Drops previous vowel and own vowel (or has no vowel to begin with).
7.	$\overset{V}{\underset{C}{\sim}}$- -$\overset{V}{\underset{C}{\sim}}$	Retains previous vowel unless it occurs in stem or substantive phrase having three or more vowels. When following suffix is C- -, drops own vowel.

1. $\frac{V- \quad -V}{-V{:}-}$

-ru

2. $\frac{V- \quad -C}{-ta}$ 'of, from'

-na

3. $\underline{V- \quad -^{V}_{C}}$

Personal Possessives:

-xa

-ma

-pa

-sa

Others (in alphabetical order):

-mpi$_1$

-mpi$_2$

-naka

-ni

-ña

-pta-

-qata

-ta nominalizer

-taki

-wi

-wisa

-wja

-V:xa

4. C- -V

-ch'a

-itu

5. C- $-\overset{V}{\underset{C}{\sim}}$

-iri

-ja

-jama

-jita

-ka-

-kata ~ -kati

-pacha (1 and 2)

-pura

-sa locational

-xa locational

6. C- -C

Zero Complement

7. $\overset{V}{\underset{C}{\sim}}$- $-\overset{V}{\underset{C}{\sim}}$

-kama

-layku

-tuqi

- 4. Complex Substantive Formations
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4. Complex Substantive Formations

4.1 Complex stems

Because of the ease with which Aymara substantives become verbs and vice versa, stems with as many as eight suffixes, or more, are by no means rare. Certain combinations concocted by the investigator were more acceptable than others, but few were rejected by the Aymara native speakers as non-Aymara provided suffix order restrictions were observed. Some examples follow.

Kawk.sa.n.k.iri.:.raki.ta.sti? 'And whereabouts are you from?'

kawki	'where'
-sa	'side'
-na	'in'
-ka-	verbalizer
-iri$_1$	nominalizer
-V:-	verbalizer
-raki	independent suffix, 'and'
-ta	2-3 Simple Tense
-sti	syntactic suffix

Ak.sa.tuqi.wj.ita.n.k.t.wa. 'I live right around here.'

aka	'here'
-sa	'side'
-tuqi	'around'
-wja	'place'
-jita	'exactly in a place'
-na	'in'
-ka-	verbalizer
-ta	1-3 Simple Tense
-wa	syntactic suffix

Wan.x yapu.x.tuqi.naka.mp.pacha.taki.chim apa.s.k.ch.i.

'Couldn't he be taking fertilizer for around my fields too?'

wanu	'fertilizer'
-xa	syntactic suffix
yapu	'field'
-tuqi	'around'
-naka	plural
-mpi$_1$	conjoiner
-pacha$_1$	includer
-taki	'for'
-chim	sentence suffix
apa-	'take'
-si$_1$	reflexive
-ka-	incompletive
-chi	verbal modal conjectural suffix
-i	3-3 Simple Tense

Papil.x t'una usku.ña.naka.wj.ita.ru.w ap.ta.

'I took the paper right to the garbage dump.'

papil	'paper'	-wja	'place'
-xa	syntactic suffix	-jita	'exact place'
t'una	garbage	-ru	'to'
usku-	'put'	-wa	syntactic suffix
-ña	nominalizer	apa-	'take'
-naka	plural	-ta	1-3 Simple Tense

Parla.kipa.si.ña.naka.sa.x waki.si.ki.puni.ni.w.

'Communication among us will be very important.'

parla-	'speak'
-kipa-	'from one to the other'
-si$_1$-	reflexive
-ña	nominalizer
-naka	plural
-sa	fourth person possessive
waki-	'need'
-si$_1$-	reflexive
-ki	independent 'just'
-puni	independent 'really'
-ni	3-3 Future Tense
-wa	syntactic suffix

4.2 Substantive Phrases

Substantive phrases will also be referred to as NP, for the more commonly used term 'noun phrase.'

4.21 Modifier - Head Phrases

As indicated earlier, the basic structure of the Aymara NP is Modifier - Head.

There must be no suffixes on the modifier in a simple (non-embedded) phrase, other than 1) -naka plural on a noun, 2) -na possessive marking a noun or personal pronoun, or 3) -ni possessor marking a noun.

Final vowels on modifiers within phrases are obligatorily retained unless the modifier has more than two vowels, in which case the final vowel must drop, as shown in the following examples:

Janq'u ch'uqi.wa. 'It's a white potato.'

but

Ch'iyar ch'uqi.wa. 'It's a black potato.'

janq'u	'white'
ch'iyara	'black'
ch'uqi	'potato'
-wa	syntactic suffix

Jach'a wiryu.wa. 'It's a big glass (bowl).'

but

Muruq wiryu.wa. 'It's a round glass (bowl).'

jach'a	'big'
muruqu	'round, spherical'
wiryu	'glass, bowl'
-wa	syntactic suffix

She/he

Jisk'a wawa.wa. 'It is a little child.'

but

Yuqall wawa.wa. 'It's a boy-child.'

and

Imill wawa.wa. 'It's a girl-child.'

jisk'a	'little'
yuqalla	'boy'
imilla	'girl'
wawa	'child, baby'
-wa	syntactic suffix

Any nominal (noun, positional, or number) may be a modifier or head in a phrase (with certain selectional restrictions which cannot be covered here). Derived nominals with any of the four nominalizers (-iri, -ña, -ta, and -wi) may be modifiers or heads. Demonstratives are usually modifiers, but may also be heads. The interrogative kuna may act as head with a possessive pronoun as modifier, but other interrogatives act only as modifiers. Personal pronouns and the negative act only as modifiers. (They may, of course, occur alone as pronouns, without modifiers, i.e. as subjects or complements.)

4.21.1 Simple Phrases

4.21.11 Types

Aymara NP's can be classified according to the class of the substantives that enter them as heads and modifiers.

4.21.11.1 Nominal Phrases

A noun may modify another noun, as in the examples given above under 4.21. Other examples are:

jich"a tarti.w 'this afternoon'

jich"a	'now'	tarti	'afternoon'
-wa	syntactic suffix		

pasir martisa.w 'last Tuesday' pasir p"axsi.w 'last month'

pasir	'last'	p"axsi	'month'
martisa	'Tuesday'	-wa	syntactic suffix

ch'uqi p"in.kam 'up to the potato pile'

ch'uqi	'potato'	p"ina	'pile'
-kama	'up to'		

jinchu ch"iq"acha 'ear-piercing wind'

jinchu 'ear' ch"iq"acha 'sharp wind'

taq.pach kurpu 'whole body'

taq.pacha 'whole' kurpu 'body'

junt'u uma 'breakfast'

junt'u 'hot' uma 'water'

A noun may modify a positional, or vice versa, as in

uta taypi 'house middle', 'middle of house', 'patio'

taypi uta 'middle house', 'house that is in the middle'

Positionals frequently modify other positionals, as in

manq"a chiqa 'straight through the inside'

Taypi chiqa.n ut.j.i. 'There is (some) straight inside the middle.'

pata manq"a 'below the top' (terraced parcel of cultivated land)

q"ira pata 'the highest top'

Numbers may modify nouns, as in kimsa uta 'three houses'; other numbers, as in pa: tunka 'two tens' ('twenty') or tunka kimsa.naka 'ten three's'; and positionals, as in kimsa pata.naka 'three tops'. Nouns and positionals do not modify numbers, with the exception of maya 'one' (which may act as a demonstrative), as in

sapa may.ni.sa 'each of us'

sapa 'alone' -ni possessor/enumerator

maya 'one' -sa fourth person possessive

Derived nominals may enter into phrases as modifiers or heads.

$-iri_1$ as head: inklis parl.iri 'English speaker'

suma ch'uñu.ch.iri.w 'a good chuño maker'

challw wist'ik.iri 'the fish flopping'

-iri$_1$ as modifier:	ch'uñu.ch.ir chacha	'the chuño-maker man'
-iri$_2$ as head:	tunt alj.iri	'to sell tunta'
	awt ap.naq.iri	'to drive a car'
	sirwis al.iri	'to buy beer'
-iri$_2$ as modifier:	ch'uñu.ch.ir uñ.ja.ña	'to see chuño-making'
-ña as head:	Aymar yati.qa.ña	'to learn Aymara'
	ampar jusq'u.si.ña	'to rub one's hands together'
	ch'uñu.ch.ir uñ.ja.ña	'to see chuño-making'
	ch'uqi pallja.ñ.xa.t	'about potato-sorting'
	ch'uq pall.ja.ña	'to sort potatoes'
-ña as modifier:	liyi.ñ yati.qa.ña	'to learn to read'
-ta as head:	wulsa p'ita.ta.pa	'her knitted bag'
-ta as modifier:	p'ita.t wulsa.pa	'her knitted bag'
	uma.t chacha	'the drunk man'
-wi as head:	wawa suti.ya.wi	'the baby's baptism'
	(No example could be found for -wi as modifier.)	

4.21.11.2 Personal Pronoun Phrases

Personal pronouns do not occur as heads in the Aymara NP. When personal pronouns occur as modifiers, it is usually as possessives, with the suffix -na.

4.21.11.21 Personal pronoun as possessor, with -na

Personal possessive phrases are a subclass of possessive phrases in general, which are described in 4.3.

$\underset{1}{\underline{\text{naya}}}$.n uta.$\underset{1}{\underline{\text{xa}}}$ 'my house' $\underset{2}{\underline{\text{juma}}}$.n uta.$\underset{2}{\underline{\text{ma}}}$ 'your house'

In this type of phrase, the personal possessive suffix on the possessed item agrees with the person of the pronoun modifier. The modifier may be omitted without the loss of meaning; that is, uta.xa means 'my house' and uta.ma means 'your house'.

In the phrases with uka or aka as head, the modifier must be retained:

naya.n uk 'my house'   juma.n uk 'your house'

(See 1.22).

When the head of the phrase is a derived nominal and the possessor is third person, the personal possessive suffix may be left off the head, as in

jupa.n$_3$ irpa.qa.ta 'his bride-taking'

4.21.11.22 Plural pronoun as modifier, without -na:

juma.nak$_2$ taypi.ma$_2$ 'in the middle of all of you'

In this type of construction, the possessive suffix (in this case -ma) may be dropped.

4.21.11.3 Demonstrative Phrases

4.21.11.31 Demonstrative as head

Noun:	Asuntita.n uk	'Asuntita's house'
Numbers:	kimsa uk.ch'a	'three this size'
	kimsa uk"ama	'three like that'
Pronoun:	naya.n uk.ch'a	'the size of mine'
·Negative:	jan uka.x	'not that'
	jan uk"ama.:.ch.i.x	'if that's not the case'
Positionals:	aka pat uk.ch'a	'the size of this top place'
	aka tayp uk"ama	'like that middle'

4.21.11.32 Demonstrative as modifier

Positional:	uka anqa.n.k.i.wa	'there outside'
Nouns:	k"a: tinta.na	'in that store over there'
	k"uri mara.x	'the year before last'
	ak"a ch'uqi.xa	'this quantity of potatoes'
	uk"a asukara.xa	'that much sugar'
Number:	Aka kimsa.x suma.w	'These three are good.'

4.21.11.4 Interrogative phrases

4.21.11.41 Interrogative as modifier

Nouns:	k"iti jaqi.naka.x	'whatever people'
	k"iti.n wawa.pa.sa?	'Whose baby?'
	kuna aru.naka	'whatever languages'
	Kuna uta.s uka.xa?	'What house is that?'
	kawki.:.r tinta.na.sa?	'in which store'
	kawki.:.r tinta.na.x	'in whichever store'
	qawq"a qullqi.x	'however much money'
	Qawq"a chuqi.sa ut.j.tam?	'How many potatoes do you have?'
Positional:	Kawki.:.r pata.sa?	'which top?'
Number:	kawki.:.r kimsa.sa?	'which three?'

4.21.11.42 Interrogative as head

Juma.n kuna.ma.sa?	'Who is he/she of you?'
maski kun.ja:ma.s	'somehow or other, one way or another'
taqi kuna	'everything'

4.21.11.5 Negative Phrases

-jani may occur as modifier, as in the following examples.

jan Ruwirtu.x 'not Robert'

jan jach'a.mp 'Don't cry.' (literally, 'no with tear')

jan ch"armant"i.x 'not this morning'

jan uka.x 'not that'

jan uk"ama.:.k.ch.i.x 'if that's not the case'

jan wal.jam 'not so good' in the complex phrase

wal.jam jan wal.jam 'so-so'

jan juma.x 'not you'

4.21.12 Suffixing of Phrases

In addition to acting as a syntactic unit, the Aymara NP acts as a unit morphologically. The head of the phrase takes all substantive, independent, and syntactic suffixes for the phrase as a whole. In the following examples the IC cuts are shown.

[uta q"ipa] .xa.pa.n 'in back of the rear of his house'

(-xa 'above' here translates as 'in back of' as many houses on the altiplano are built against a mountainside.)

[q"ipa uta] .pa.n 'at his last house' (the most recently built)

[uta taypi] .pa.n 'inside the patio of his house'

[taypi uta] .pa.n 'his middle house', 'the middle house that is his'

[kimsa uk.ch'a] .pa.n 'his three of that size'

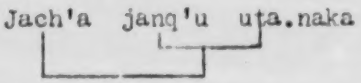
[uka anqa].n.k.i.wa. 'there outside'

[kawki.:.r tinta] .na 'in which store'

[kuna suti] .ni.sa 'what-name haver'

4.21.2 Embedded Modifier-Head Phrases

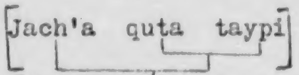
A Modifier-Head phrase may be embedded within another Modifier-Head phrase, as Aymara structure provides for a nesting of NP's. In the following sentence, janq'u 'white' modifies uta.naka 'houses' and jach'a 'big' modifies janq'u uta.naka 'white houses':


Jach'a janq'u uta.naka 'big white houses'

A demonstrative, an interrogative, jani negative, or a personal pronoun with -na could serve as modifier in place of jach'a. However, none of those may replace janq'u in the above example, as there are order restrictions on embedding. (See 4.21.3).

Phrases embedded in phrases with positionals, numbers, and derived nominals with -ña as heads, and embedded phrases with possessor nominals as heads, exhibit special behavior, and will be discussed below.

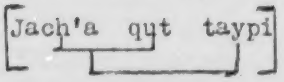
4.21.21 Embedded phrase with positional head


Jach'a quta taypi .n ut.j.i.

'There is/are in the middle of the big lake.'

Here, quta 'lake' modifies taypi 'middle' and jach'a 'big' modifies the NP quta taypi 'lake middle.'

However, the IC cuts may be made differently. jach'a may modify quta, and the NP jach'a quta may act as a unit modifying taypi:


Jach'a qut taypi .n ut.j.i.

In this case, the final vowel of quta drops by the rule which requires a modifier of more than two vowels to drop its final vowel. This shows that in this case jach'a quta is behaving syntactically like one word derived from a compound, althoughit is actually an NP.

Examples of different NP modifiers which may lose their final vowel before a positional as head are:

Modifier of embedded phrase

Interrogative:	kawki.:.r qut taypi	'in the middle of which lake'
Demonstrative:	aka qut taypi	'in the middle of this lake'
Number:	kimsa ut taypi	'in the middle of three houses'
Noun of size:	jach'a qut taypi	'in the middle of the big lake'
Noun of color:	janq'u ut taypi	'in the middle of the white house'
Noun:	anu ut taypi	'in the middle of the dog's house'
Positional:	taypi ut manq"a	'in the middle of the house'

Head of embedded phrase

Nominal

Noun	(See above examples)	
Positional	quta tayp manq"a	'inside the middle of the lake'
Number	pa: tunk pata.naka	'twenty tops'

There are three substantive suffixes, -tuqi 'around', -kama 'up to, until, among', and -layku 'because of' which cause the substantive on which they occur to act like part of a compound NP. That is, a two-vowel root will retain its final vowel before each of those suffixes, but only if it is not modified or suffixed.

uta.tuqi	'around the house'

but

uta.x.tuqi	'around my house'

and

[jach'a ut] .tuqi 'around the big house'

In other words, these suffixes act like positional heads of phrases, except that the suffixes always treat what precedes as a unit, requiring vowel dropping according to the three-vowel rule, while positionals may or may not treat what precedes as a unit. It may be that these suffixes were at one time free substantive roots. -kama and -tuqi are semantically close to positionals. -layku may be a relic of another root class which could cause a modifying NP to drop its final vowel.

4.21.22 Embedded phrase with number as head

As shown in the examples of multiple numbers in 1.12.23.1, such numbers consist of an NP which may contain an embedded NP, as:

pa: tunka	'two ten', 'twenty'	20
tunka waranqa	'ten thousand'	10,000
pa: tunk waranqa	'twenty thousand'	20,000
patak waranqa	'hundred thousand'	100,000

In the above examples, the final vowel of *tunka* drops when it occurs in the phrase *pa: tunka* before *waranqa*, and the final vowel of *pataka* also drops in the phrase with *waranqa*, in both cases by the same three-vowel rule as in the case of positional heads of phrases. It appears that numbers normally cause a modifying NP to behave syntactically like a single word, but there is some stylistic variation, as in the case of positionals.

4.21.23 Embedded phrase with derived nominal with -ña as head

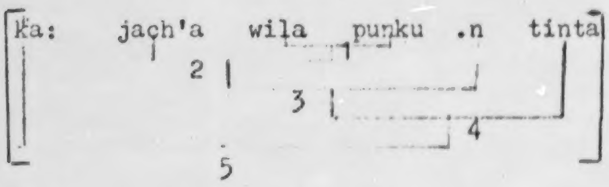
The following example was cited in 3.23.

Aymar liyi.ñ yati.qa.*ñ* mun.ta. 'I want to learn to read Aymara.'

As shown above, *Aymar* is the zero complement modifying *liyi.ña* 'to read', *Aymar liyi.ñ* 'to read Aymara' is the zero complement modifying *yati.qa.ña* 'to learn', and *Aymar liyi.ñ yati.qa.ñ* is the zero complement of the verb *mun.ta*. (See also 4.24.)

4.21.24 Embedded phrase with possessor noun as head

The following consists of four phrases embedded in a fifth, which is itself suffixed with -na locational. The whole embedded phrase is:



.na 'in that store over there with the big red door'

Beginning with the innermost phrase,

1. wila 'red' modifies punku 'door'
2. jach'a 'big' modifies wila punku 'red door'
3. -ni possessor modifies jach'a wila punku 'big red door'
4. jach'a wila punku.n 'having big red door' modifies tinta 'store'
5. k"a: 'that over there' modifies jach'a wila punku.n tinta
6. -na modifies the whole phrase k"a: jach'a wila punku.n tinta

k"a: jach'a wila punku.n tinta.na

Other possessive phrases are discussed in 4.21.11.11.2 and 4.3.

4.21.3 Order of Embedded Modifiers

A series of modifiers may precede the head in the following order:

Negative	Interrogative/ Demonstrative/ Personal Possessive	Number	Size Noun	Quality Noun[31]	Other Noun/ Positional/ Derived Nominal
1	2	3	4	5	6

Some examples are:

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{K"iti.n}\\ \text{Kawki.:.r}\end{array}\right\}\text{pusi jach'a janq'u uta.naka.}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{pa.sa?}\\ \text{sa?}\end{array}\right\}$$

2 3 4 5

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{'Whose}\\ \text{'Which}\end{array}\right\}\text{ four big white houses are they?'}$$

Naya.n pusi jach'a janq'u uta.naka.xa.wa.

2 3 4 5

'My four big white houses.'

K"a: pusi jach'a janq'u uta.naka.wa.

2 3 4 5

'Those four big white houses over there.'

(Examples with a Class 6 modifier are given in 4.21.21, and with Class 1 modifier, in 4.21.11.5.)

4.21.31 Interrogative phrase with demonstrative/possessive phrase

4.21.31.1 With human substantives

4.21.31.11 Demonstratives

4.21.31.11.1 Information question with -sa

Kawki.:.r pusi jach'a janq'u chacha.naka.sa?

2 3 4 5

'Which four big white men are they?'

K"a: pusi jach'a janq'u chacha.naka.wa.

2 3 4 5

'Those four big white men over there.'

4.21.31.11.2 Yes/No question

K"a: pusi jach'a janq'u chacha.naka.ti?

2 3 4 5

'Are they those four big white men over there?'

Jisa, k"a: pusi jach'a janq'u chacha.naka.wa.

2 3 4 5

'Yes, they are those four big white men over there.'

4.21.31.12 Possessive

4.21.31.12.1 Information question

K"iti.n pusi jisk'a chiyar wawa.naka.pa.sa?

2 3 4 5

'Whose four little black children are they?'

Jupa.n pusi jisk'a chiyar wawa.naka.pa.wa.

2 3 4 5

'They are his four little black children.'

4.21.31.12.2 Yes/No question

Jupa.n pusi jisk'a chiyar wawa.naka.pa.ti?

2 3 4 5

'Are they his four little black children?'

Jisa, jupa.n pusi jisk'a chiyar wawa.naka.pa. wa.

'Yes, they are his four little black children.'

4.21.31.2 With non-human substantives

4.21.31.21 Demonstratives

4.21.31.21.1 Information question

Kawki.:.r pusi jach'a wila awtu.naka.sa?

2 3 4 5

'Which four big red cars are they?'

K"a: pusi jach'a wila awtu.naka.wa.

2 3 4 5

'Those four big red cars over there.'

4.21.31.21.2 Yes/No question

K"a: pusi jach'a wila awtu.naka.ti?
2 3 4 5

'Are they those four big red cars over there?'

Jisa, k"a: pusi jach'a wila awtu.naka.wa.
2 3 4 5

'Yes, they are those four big red cars over there.'

4.22 Head-Head Phrases

In addition to Modifier-Head phrases, Aymara has phrases consisting of two coordinate substantives of the same class. They may often be the same substantive, as reduplication is a salient feature of this kind of Aymara phrase-formation. Each member of the pair takes a suffix, usually a relational, although the conjoining suffix -mpi$_1$, with or without the includer suffix -pacha$_1$, is also frequently used in forming coordinate phrases.

4.22.1 Phrase with -ja 'quantity'

may.ja may.ja.raki.w 'a little different'

maya	'one'
-raki	independent suffix
-wa	syntactic suffix

4.22.2 Relational phrases

4.22.21 -ru and -ru

On noun: altu.r altu.r 'higher and higher'

jak'.xa.r jak'.xa.ru 'close to each other'

On demonstratives: kur.sa.r ak.sa.r 'back and forth'

4.22.22 -ki and -ru

On number: maya.ki may.sa.r 'suddenly, all at once'

4.22.23 -ta and -ru

On noun: jich"a.t uk.sa.ru.x 'from now on'

On demonstrative and noun: aka.t q"ipa.r 'from now on'

On demonstratives: k"aya.t aka.r 'from there to here'

4.22.24 -ta and -ta

On numbers: maya.t maya.t 'one by one' (animals or things)

may.ni.t may.ni.t 'one by one' (people)

pa.ni.t pa.ni.t 'two by two' (people)

Suxta.t suxta.t ap.ta.ni.m. 'Bring six at a time.'

4.22.3 Conjoined phrases

4.22.31 -na and -na

Nouns may be conjoined by -na locational, as in

Uta.n yapu.n ut.j.ta. 'I live in the field and in the house.'

4.22.32 -ni and -ni

Nouns may be conjoined by -ni possessor.

Yapu.n uta.ni.:.t.wa. 'I have a field and a house.'

Warmi.n wawa.ni.:.t.wa. 'I have a wife and child(ren).'

4.22.33 -mpi$_1$

Phrases conjoined with -mpi$_1$ are more common than those conjoined with -na or -ni.

4.22.33.1 -mpi$_1$ alone or reduplicated

suxta suxta.mpi 'set of six'

Naya.mp juma.mp sara.ñani. 'You and I will go.'

4.22.33.2 -mpi$_1$ and -ru

Arjintina.mpi.r Wuliwya.mpi.ru.w sar.i.

'He went to Argentina and Bolivia.'

4.22.33.3 -mpi$_1$ and -taki

-taki complement:

Ch'uq naya.mpi.tak jupa.mpi.tak apa.rap.ita.

'Take the potatoes for him and me.'

-taki beneficiary:

Julya.mpi.tak Teresa.mpi.tak ch'uq ala.:.ta.

'You will buy potatoes for (to give to) Julia and Teresa.'

-taki purposive:

Tunta.mpi.tak ch'uñu.mpi.tak k"umu.:.xa.y.

'I'll take them for (making) chuño and tunta.'

4.22.33.4 -mpi$_1$ and -na possessive

Sisku Mamani.mpi.n Susana Qantuta.mpi.n wawa.pa.:.t.wa.

'I am Sisku Mamani's and Susana Qantuta's child.'

4.22.33.5 -mpi$_1$ and -ta

Tinta.mpi.t p"irya.mpi.t wayk' ala.n.ta.

'I bought chile at the store and at the market.'

4.22.33.6 -mpi$_1$ and -pacha$_1$

Yapu.mp.pach uta.mp.pach al.j.i.

'He sold all the fields and all the houses.'

4.22.33.7 -mp.pacha and -ta

Arjintina.mp.pacha.t Wuliwya.mp.pacha.t puri.p.x.i.

'They arrived from as far as Argentina and Bolivia.'

4.22.33.8 Different orders of -mpi$_1$ and -pacha$_1$ with -xa 'over' (see 3.11.6) and -ta

4.22.33.81 -xa.mpi.t (order preferred by Mr. Copana)

Aymar.xa.mpi.t inklis.xa.mpi.t parl.ta.

'I talked about Aymara and English.'

4.22.33.82 -mp.xa.t (order preferred by Ms. Vasquez)

Aymara.mp.xa.t inklisa.mp.xa.t parl.ta.

'I talked about Aymara and English.'

4.22.33.83 -mp.xa.t.pach (order preferred by Mr. Copana)

Uta.ni.mp.xa.t.pach yapu.ni.mp.xa.t.pach parla.m.

'Talk about the house-owner and the field-owner.'

4.22.33.84 -mp.xa.pacha.t (order preferred by Ms. Vasquez)

Uta.ni.mp.xa.pacha.t yapu.ni.mp.xa.pacha.t parl.ta.

'I spoke about the house-owner and the field-owner.'

4.22.33.9 Different orders of -mpi$_1$ and -pacha$_1$ with -V:xa 'beside' (see 3.11.7) and -ta

4.22.33.91 -V:xa.mpi.t (order preferred by Mr. Copana)

Misa.pa.:xa.mpi.t ap.t.ta.

'I took it from beside his table too.'

4.22.33.92 -mpi.:xa.t (order preferred by Ms. Vasquez)

Misa.pa.mpi.:xa.t ap.t.ta.

'I took it from beside his table too.'

As the above examples under 4.22.33.8 and 4.22.33.9 show, Mr. Copana prefers ordering the locationals before -mpi$_1$, while Ms. Vasquez prefers ordering them after -mpi$_1$. This appears to be a dialectical variation.

4.23 On theme with -k.iri plus -ru

This kind of phrase can be seen as the result of a transformation of two underlying sentences. The theme with -ka- incompletive plus -iri is a nominalization of the verb in one of the sentences, which becomes subordinated to the verb of the other sentence, as a -ru directional.

4.23.1 -ru and -k.iri.ru

Underlying sentences:

Iskuyla.ru.w sari. 'She went to school'

Awtu.w taq.xata.tayna. 'A car hit her.'

Iskuyla.r sar.k.iri.r awtu.w taq.xata.tayna.

'(As she was) going to school, a car hit her.'

' A car hit her on her way to school.'

4.23.2 -ta and -k.iri.ru

A similar process using a -ta directional and an embedded verb gives a sentence like

Iskuyla.t mist.k.iri.r Manuylu.w nuwa.tayna.

'Manuel hit him coming out of the school.'

4.23.3 -taki and -k.iri.ru

A similar process using a -taki beneficiary and an embedded verb give a phrase like

k"iti.tak p̈ay.k.iri.ru? 'cooking for whom?'

4.23.4 -na and -k.iri.ru

A similar process using a -na locational and an embedded verb gives a phrase like uta.n sar.naq.k.iri.r 'going around the house' as in

Uta.n sar.naq.k.iri.r aliqa.t parl.xa.ya.tayna.

'While he was hanging around the house, she spoke to him without any reason (to tease him).'

4.24 Zero Complement Phrases

Zero complements may occur in a series, with -sa syntactic suffix:

4.24.1 Two in series

Na.naka.x jani.w apill.s ulluk.s uñ.t'a.p.k.t.ti.

'We have never seen apilla or ulluku.'

4.24.2 Several in series, with uka.nak as resumator

Wasuru.x q"ati.s, p"uti.s, aycha.kanka.s, jallpa.wayk'a.s, uka.nak p"aya.ya:ta.

'Yesterday I cooked potatoes in their jackets, boiled chuño, barbecued meat, pepper salad, all that.'

(In this sentence the complements retain their vowels, and it is the resumator that acts as the zero complement for all of them.)

See 4.21.11.1 and 4.21.23 for examples of zero complements as modifiers of head derived nominals with -ña and -iri$_2$.

4.3 The Aymara Possessive System

4.31 Possession in Aymara is expressed in several, interrelated ways. These are:

4.31.1 The use of the possessor/enumerator suffix -ni (3.12) on the possessed substantive, turning it into a possessor.

Human: uta.ni 'house-owner'

Jupa.x uta.ni.wa. 'He has a house.'

Non-human: punku.ni 'having a door'

Tinta.x punku.ni.wa. 'The house has a door.'

A form with -ni may be verbalized by -V:-.

Juma.x wawa.ni.:.ta.ti? 'Do you have children?'

Jis, wawa.ni.:.t.wa. 'Yes, I have children.'

Jani.w wawa.ni.:.k.t.ti. 'No, I haven't any children.'

Juma.x qawq"a wawa.ni.:.ta.sa? 'How many children do you have?'

Naya.x pusi wawa.ni.:.t.wa. 'I have four children.'

(A conjoined form is shown in 4.22.32.)

4.31.2 The use of the personal possessive suffixes -xa, -ma, -pa and -sa (3.13) on the possessed substantive, as in

uta.xa	'my house'
uta.ni.ma	'your landlord'
punku.ni.pa	'his possession with a door'
juta.ña.sa	'our coming'

4.31.3 The use of the possessive/locational suffix -na (3.21.5 and 4.21.11.2) on the possessor (human or non-human) as modifier of the possessed substantive which serves as head of a phrase.

k"iti.n uta.pa?	'whose house?'
Jusiya.n uta.pa	'José's house'
uta.n punku.pa	'the door of the house'
wip"ala.n kulura.pa	'colors of the flag'
Juma.n kuna.ma.sa?	'Who is he/she of you?' (what relation)
Naya.n warmi.xa.w.	'She is my wife.'

It is possible for a personal possessive suffix also to occur on the possessor, if it is also possessed by someone or something else:

(jupa.n) uta.pa.n numiru.p	'the number of her house'
Uliwya.n wawa.pa.n suti.ya.wi.pa	'Olivia's baby's baptism'

If it is a derived nominal, the possessed item may or may not carry a possessive suffix:

tayka.n parla.t.x	'the old lady's talker'	(i.e., the old lady's confidante)

tayka	'old lady'
-ta	resultant nominalizer
parla-	'talk'
-xa	syntactic suffix

Possessive phrases may occur as relationals or complements.

Mariya.n uta.pa.r sari. 'She went to Mary's house.'

(-ru directional)

Juma.n mama.ma.taki.w ch'uq apa.rap.ta. 'I took potatoes for your mother'

(-taki complement)

K'iti.n wawa.pa.t.s parl.ta? 'Whose baby did you talk about?'

(-ta complement)

Juma.n wawa.m irpa.:.xa. 'I'll take your baby.'

(zero complement)

-na may be verbalized by the suffixation of -ka-.

-na + -ka- + inflection (3.31.11)

Aka.x jupa.n.k.i.ti? 'Is this his?'

Jisa, jupa.n.k.i.wa. 'Yes, it's his.'

-na + -ka- + $-iri_1$ nominalizer (3.31.12)

Juma.n.k.ir jala.q.ta.ya.raq.tam. 'He knocked yours over.'

-na + -ka- + $-iri_1$ + -V:- verbalization (3.32.12.1)

Jani.w juma.n.k.iri.:.k.i.ti. 'It's not yours.'

4.31.4 The use of the verb ut.ja.ña 'to exist'

Qawq"a uta.s ut.j.tam? 'How many houses do you have?'

('How many houses exist to you?')

The sentence may be preceded by a human noun or pronoun with -na:

Juma.n.x qawq"a uta.s ut.j.tam? 'How many houses do you have?'

(Naya.n) pusi uta.xa.w ut.j.itu. 'I have four houses.'

In the first sentence the verb inflection is 3-2, and in the second it is 3-1; in each case uta 'house' is the subject, with or without a personal possessive suffix.

4.32 Possession of Obligation

Possession of an obligation is expressed as follows.

4.32.1 By nominalization of verb with -ña (2.12.22), with or without subsequent reverbalization with -V:- (3.32.22):

Kuna.s ala.ña? 'What has to be bought?'

Ch'uqi.w ala.ña. 'Potatoes have to be bought.'

Tuku.ya.ña.:.x.i.w. 'It has to be finished.'

Personal possessive suffixes after -ña (3.13):

Sara.ña.xa.w. 'I have to go.'

Juta.ña.pa.w. 'He had to come.'

Naya.x apa.ña.xa.taki.w. 'It's for me to take.'

-V:- followed by -chi- conjectural, to express contingent obligation (3.32.22.2):

Kuna.s ala.ña.:.ch.i.y. 'Whatever might have to be bought.'
'Maybe something has to be bought.'

4.32.2 By -ña followed by -ni possessor (3.12) with or without -V:- verbalization:

Jupa.x apa.ña.ni.w. 'He is a contemporary of X.[32] / He has to carry.'

Naya.x apa.ña.ni.:.t.wa. 'I have to carry.'

Other examples are given in the section for each relational suffix.

5. Suggestions for Further Research

At several places in this chapter, mention has been made of areas needing further research. These are summarized below.

5.1 Study of dialectal variations

The order of the Class I positional, possessive, and plural suffixes should be studied in different parts of the Aymara - speaking community, to see whether there is any correlation to geographic area, or whether the variation is better described as stylistic.

In the course of this research the following form was attested by Mr. Yapita. It was not accepted by either Ms. Vasquez nor Mr. Copana.

Wuliwya.mpi.t.pacha.t 'from all over Bolivia' in

Sultaru.naka.x Wuliwya.mpi.t.pacha.t jut.ta.:n, s.i.w.

sultaru	'soldier'	juta-	'come'
naka-	plural	-ta:n	3-3 Remote Tense
-mpi$_1$	conjoiner	sa-	'say'
-ta	'from'	-i	3-3 Simple Tense
-pacha	'all over'	-wa	syntactic suffix
-ta	'from'		

'They say soldiers came from all over Bolivia.'

The word in question seems to contain two instances of -ta- directional complement, separated by one of the -pacha- suffixes. Although Mr. Copana is from the same town as Mr. Yapita, he did not accept it, but rather dropped the final -t, leaving Wuliwya.mpi.t.pach.

Whether this represents a dialectal variation or something else, needs to be determined.

5.2 Other areas needing further study

5.21 An enthnosemantic study of which substantive roots may take Set I verbal derivational suffixes and -pta- as verbalizers (2.11 and 3.33).

5.22 Determination of kinds of complements taken by different verb roots and stems; effect of verbal derivationals on substantive complements. For example:

5.22.1 Which verb roots and stems take complements with -ña.taki, and which take them with -iri$_2$ (2.12).

5.22.2 Other complements which -si$_1$ reflexive takes besides -mpi$_1$ (3.21.4).

5.22.3 Restrictions on occurrence of zero complements with certain verbs. (For example, *Juma.r ch'uq ap.sma 'I took you potatoes' is not permitted, while Juma.r ch'uq chur.sma 'I gave you potatoes' is acceptable.)

5.23 Determination of favored interpretations, if any, of ambiguous sentences with -ya- causative in the verb (3.21.4).

5.24 The accurate classification of -jama (3.23.3) as an independent or as a substantive suffix.

5.25 Determination of order classes for nouns of quality when they occur as embedded modifiers (4.21.3).

FOOTNOTES

[1] But see 3.21.41.11.4 (-mpi$_2$)

[2] There is also a subclass of nominals used for reference to days, months, and years. See Unit IV, Aymar Ar Yatiqañataki, Exercise Sets II and III.

[3] -tuqi occurs as a free root in the following sentence from an information sheet distributed with the Aymara Newsletter in 1970: Uka.t.x ut.ja.s.ka.k.i.w juk'a.mp iryuma.naka.x (Oriente Boliviano) sa.t tuqi.n.xa. 'Then there are more languages around what is called "Oriente Boliviano."' uka.t.x 'then' ut.ja.s.ka.k.i.w 'there are' juk'a.mp 'more' iryuma.naka.x 'languages' Oriente Boliviano 'Bolivian East' sa.t 'called' tuqi.n.xa 'in around'. Normally, tuqi.n.xa would be on the substantive it modifies, in this case Oriente Boliviano, but here the substantive is separated from tuqi.n.xa by the word sa.t. (See 4.21.21). N.B. The tuqi that occurs in tuqi.kama 'scolding' comes from the verb tuqi.ña 'to scold' and is unrelated to -tuqi 'around'.

[4] The distribution of allomorphs is morphologically and syntactically determined. See 1.12.26.

[5] The final vowels drop by a regular phonological rule operating on Aymara compound substantives serving as modifiers in phrases. See 4.21.22.

[6] See Chapter III, 1.2.13 and 1.1.43.

[7] The suffix -iri requires the dropping of the previous vowel. When the previous vowel has been lengthened by verbalization, the vowel length moves to the first /i/ of -iri, as in all the forms given here. (See 2.12.1.)

[8] The suffix -n- in the right hand column may be -ni possessor/enumerator (3.12) or -na possessive/locational (3.21.5), although neither of those suffixes otherwise takes a preceding consonant except when -ni occurs on may- 'one' (see 1.12.26.22). Or it may be frozen to the stems, as in the case of pani- 'two' (see 1.12.26.21).

[9] k"ay.n.i.:.ri and k"ur.n.i.:.ri are in Mr. Copana's dialect; k"uy.n.i.:.ri is in Ms. Vasquez' dialect.

[10] There is an analogous construction with aka, used less frequently: maya.n ak 'in one house', as in Adela.mp Mariya.mpi.x maya.n ak ut.j.i. 'Adela and Maria live in the same house.' maya 'one' ak 'this, here' uta- 'house' -ja- verbalizer -i 3-3 Simple Tense.

[11] Questions with kuna.ru.s elicit a differently structured answer from questions with kuna.t.s or kuna.taki.s. See 3.21.1, 3.21.2, and 3.21.3.

[12] -ja:ma is an allomorph of -jama which occurs only with kuna, in free variation with -jama.

[13] Any of the four personal pronouns may answer the question.

[14] Any of the four demonstratives may answer the question.

[15] This suffix is productive in Jaqaru. (Personal communication, Dr. M.J. Hardman-de-Bautista.)

[16] Stem vowel /u/ overrides a following vowel by a regular phonological rule in Aymara. See Chapter IV 1.3.

[17] The verb muna.ña, 'to want' may be the only one that takes complements with -ña, while others take them with -iri$_2$. Further research is needed to establish this.

[18] The feminine form, -ita, has been borrowed into Aymara frozen in stems, as in the stem mamita 'mother', a term of endearment used to one's own mother; but it is not a productive suffix like -itu.

[19] It may be related to the verbal derivational suffix -kata-'across', which has the same morphophonemics and which may verbalize substantive roots. (See 2.1 and Chapter VI, 2.27.1).

[20] Two other substantive suffixes have the same morphophonemics: -layku (3.03) and the Class II suffix -kama 'until' (3.22.2). See 4.21.21.

[21] The Aymara possessive system as a whole is summarized in 4.3.

[22] -naka occurs after -mpi$_1$ in one example in the Aymara course, juk'a.mpi.naka.x 'a lot more' (Unit XI Dialogue), but juk'ampi is believed to be a frozen compound.

[23] However, a substantive stem with a relational suffix may be verbalized, the resulting theme may be renominalized, and the new substantive theme may then take a relational suffix. For example, a stem with -na possessive/locational can be verbalized with -ka- and subsequently renominalized. It may then take another -na or one of the other relational complement suffixes: uta.n.k.iri.ru 'to the person who lives in the house' uta 'house' -na possessive/locational 'in' -ka- verbalizer -iri$_1$ nominalizer -ru directional 'to'.

[24] A more process-oriented approach would see the -taki complement as a transform of a -ru or -ta complement. In such a presentation, a human -ru or -ta directional occurring in a sentence with a -taki complement would be considered an ex-complement, 'bumped' from its former position by the addition of -rapi to the verb stem. Similarly, a human -ru directional in a sentence with -ya- in the verb would be considered a former -ru complement 'bumped' by -ya- in favor of an -mpi$_2$ complement, and a human -ru or -ta directional in a sentence with -raqa-

in the verb would be considered a former complement 'bumped' by -raqa- in favor of a -na complement. (See 3.21.2, 3.21.3, 3.21.4, and 3.21.5).

[25] In the data for this study, -kama has occurred once as a free root, in the same way as -tuqi (3.11.5). See note 3. According to Mr. Copana, there are certain Aymara dialects that form stems with -kama that may then take Class I and II suffixes, as is the case with -jama. It may be that in those dialects -kama is more root-like in its behavior than it is in the dialects analyzed for this chapter. (See also 4.21.21).

[26] This investigator's failure to drop the preceding vowel when using the suffix -jama on the word uta 'house' was noted by one of the Aymara speakers, who reported it, with considerable relish and appropriate embellishment, at a subsequent social gathering. Awareness of the hazards to the foreigner inherent in the -jama ~ jama homophony led a student of Aymara to write a term paper on the subject of jama and two other words of similar meaning (Miracle 1972).

[27] A full account of Aymara verbs and their zero complements is beyond the scope of this chapter. A study of carrying verbs and their zero complements has been made by Tate (1971).

[28] -wa syntactic suffix usually does not occur on zero complements. See Chapter IV, 3.3.

[29] An apparent exception is kun.taki.rak in the dialect of Mr. Copana, as in Kun.taki.rak mun.ta.sti? 'And what do you want it for?' Here the /a/ of kuna has apparently dropped to make kuna the zero complement of the verb muna.ña. However, kuna.taki.rak may also occur in the same context and the form used without -raki is kuna.taki, not kun.taki. It therefore seems that kun.taki.rak is in free variation with kuna.taki.rak.

[30] Substantive roots may be verbalized with certain verbal suffixes. See 2.11.

[31] 'Quality' noun refers to colors, value (good or bad), age (e.g. wayna 'young'), temperature, etc. Further research is required to establish order classes within the quality subclass.

[32] The favored gloss of this ambiguous sentence is 'He is a contemporary of X'; that is, both were carried by their mothers at the same time.

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* The four nominalizers of verbs (-iri, ña, -ta, and -wi) are also included in this index. (The verbalizers of noun roots are not included. See Chapter VI.)

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Chapter IX

Theme Formation

1. Introduction. A theme is a root or a stem belonging to one morphological class plus suffixation which makes it a member of the other class. A simple theme (i.e. a form with only one class change) may take additional thematic suffixes, thus going alternately from one class to the other (see 4. below).

Theme formation has been dealt with in previous chapters where relevant; this chapter constitutes a summary of and guide to the thematic processes in Aymara.

2. Nominalization. The four nominalizing suffixes, $_{v}$-ta$_{v}$ 'resultant', $_{\not v}$-iri 'actor', $_{v}$-ña$_{v}$ 'verb name', and $_{v}$-wi 'place/ceremony', are treated extensively in Chapter VIII 2.12.

Subordinate verb forms are basically nominalized structures; for discussion of same see Chapter VII 4.

Nominalizers make nouns out of verbs. The resulting forms may then take noun suffixes as nominals; however, certain restrictions and certain possibilities are operant for these nominals which set them apart from stem or root nominals. See Chapter VIII 4.

3. Verbalization. Substantives may be verbalized in two ways: to the status of a full verb or to the status of a defective verb. The former is restricted in the substantives which it may affect; the latter is common and frequent.

3.1 Verbalization to full verb. The suffixes which verbalize to full verb are treated extensively in Chapter VI 2.2, Chapter VIII 2.11 and (for $_v$-pta-) 3.33.

Only nominal roots may be verbalized to full verb status. Twelve suffixes may have this effect, each with its own semantic characteristics, as seen in Chapter VI 2.2 and 2.3. Ten of the suffixes are Set I verbal derivationals; one is a Set II verbal derivational; one, $_v$-pta- has no other function.[1]

3.2 Verbalization to defective verb. A defective verb has four persons only instead of nine (see Chapter VII). There are two suffixes which verbalize in this fashion, $_v$-:-, treated extensively in Chapter VIII 3.31, and $_v$-ka-, Chapter VIII 3.32. Defective verbs may only take verbal derivational suffixes of Set II.

4. Multiple Thematization. A very common feature of Aymara grammar, multiple thematization involves nominalizing a verbalized form and vice versa. The process is recursive; upper limits are not known.

4.1 N ⟩ V ⟩ N

suti.cha.ña	'to nickname' (full verb)	suti.ya.wi	'baptism'
N ⟩ V ⟩ N		N ⟩ V ⟩ N	
suti	'name'	suti	'name'
-cha-	stem causative	-ya-	person causative
-ña	verb name	-wi	'place/ceremony'

suti.ni.:.ña 'to have a name' (defective verb)

N ⟩ V ⟩ N

suti	'name'
-ni	'owner/have'
-:-	existence ⟩ V
-ña	verb name

ch'uñu.:.wi 'place for freeze-drying potatoes'

N ⟩ V ⟩ N

ch'uñu	'freeze-dried potato'
-:-	⟩ V
-wi	'place/ceremony'

uta.n.k.iri 'the one always in the house'

N ⟩ V ⟩ N

uta	'house'
-na	'in'
-ka-	⟩ V
-iri	actor

4.2 V ⟩ N ⟩ V, defective verbs only

manq'.iri.:.t.wa 'I am an eater'

V ⟩ N ⟩ V

qari.ta.:.t.wa 'I'm tired'

V ⟩ N ⟩ V

yati.ta.:.pachäta.xa.y 'you are no doubt used to'

V ⟩ N ⟩ V

4.3 N ⟩ V ⟩ N ⟩ V, defective verbs only

suti.ya.wi.n.ka.s.k.i.wa 'she's at the baptism'

N ⟩ V ⟩ N ⟩ V

ch'uñu.:.wi.n.ka.s.ki.wa 'she's in the freeze-drying place'

N ⟩ V ⟩ N ⟩ V

uta.n.ka.s.k.iri.:.t.wa 'I'm usually in the house'.

N ⟩ V ⟩ N ⟩ V

suti.ni.:.ña.:.ch.i.y. 'one ought to have a name'

N ⟩ V ⟩ N ⟩ V

4.4 V ⟩ N ⟩ V ⟩ N, defective verbs only

manq'.iri.:.ña 'to be an eater, feaster'

V ⟩ N ⟩ N ⟩ N

sar.naqa.wi.ni.:.ña 'to have culture'

V ⟩ N ⟩ V ⟩ N

yat.t'a.ta.:.ña 'to be one who is used to'

V ⟩ N ⟩ V ⟩ N

4.5 N ⟩ V ⟩ N ⟩ V ⟩ N, defective verbs only.

suti.ya.wi.n.k.iri 'the one who is at the baptism'

N ⟩ V ⟩ N ⟩ V ⟩ N

ch'uñu.:.wi.n.ka.s.k.iri 'the one who is in the freeze-drying place'

N 〉V〉 N 〉 V 〉 N

ch'uñu.ch.iri.:.ña 'to be a ch'uñu maker'

N 〉 V 〉 N 〉V〉 N

suti.ya.ta.:.ña 'to be baptized'

N 〉 V 〉 N 〉V〉 N

4.6 V 〉 N 〉 V 〉 N 〉 V, defective verbs only.

manq'a.ña.:.wi.ni.:.t.wa 'I have a party', 'I have guests', 'I have an invitation.'

V 〉N 〉V〉 N 〉 V

yati.ch.iri.:.ña.:.ch.i.y 'One really ought to become a teacher.'

V 〉 N 〉V〉 N 〉V

4.7 Forms with five thematic changes or more.

ch'uñu.:.wi.n.ka.s.k.iri.:.yät.wa 'I was always in the freeze-drying place.'

N 〉V〉 N 〉 V 〉 N 〉 V

manq'a.ña.:.wi.ni.:.ña.xa.wa 'I ought to have a party.'

V 〉 N 〉V〉 N 〉V〉 N

manq'a.ña.:.wi.ni.:.ña.:.ch.i.y 'One really ought to have a party.'

V 〉N 〉V〉 N 〉V〉 N 〉 V

ch'uñu.ch.iri.:.ña.:.ch.i.y 'One ought to be a ch'uñu maker.'

N 〉 V 〉 N 〉 V 〉 N 〉 V

As can be readily seen by the examples given, thematization is a very productive process in Aymara.

Chart IX A

Verbalization

To defective verb:

$_{v}$-:-	existence
$_{n}$-ka-	locator/possessive

To full verb:

Set I:

$_{v}$-cha-	stem causative
$_{v}$-pta-	'become'
$_{n}$-ja-	root verbalizer
$_{v}$-ra-	serializer
$_{n}$-t"api-	gatherer
$_{n}$-nuqa-	placer
$_{n}$-kata-	crosser, bridger
$_{v}$-nta-	inceptive
$_{v}$-nuku-	distancer
$_{v}$-tata-	scatterer
$_{n}$-t'a-	momentaneous

Set II:

$_{v}$-ya-	person causative

Nominalization

$_{v}$-ta$_{v}$	resultant
$_{n}$-iri	agentive
$_{v}$-ña$_{v}$	name of action
$_{v}$-wi$_{v}$	place/ceremony

FOOTNOTES

[1] -pta- could more profitably be considered an allomorph of $_{n}$-ta- 'up' verbal derivational Set I, but the evidence is historical and comparative. $_{n}$-ta- does not nominalize. The cognate of $_{n}$-ta- in sister languages is -pta, e.g. Aymara *aytaña* 'to pick up a cylindrical object', Jaqaru *aypta* 'to pick up a cylindrical object'. In the sister languages -pta- nominalizes just as does $_{v}$-pta- in Aymara, e.g. Jaqaru *junĉ'pta* 'to become hot', 'to heat up'; Aymara *junt'uptaña* 'to become hot', 'to heat up'. Thus the apparent exception to the rule that, in order to be a real verb, the nominal root must take a verbal suffix (in contrast to a verbalization suffix) is, in effect, only apparent.

CHAPTER X
INDEPENDENT SUFFIXES

1. Definition and occurrence patterns.

Independent suffixes are suffixes which may occur with any class of root, stem, or theme and which occur after said root, stem, or theme before inflections and/or sentence suffixes.

When occurring on themes from verbalizations to defective verb and/or nominalization, the independent may occur on the stem rather than the theme except that it may not directly precede {-ka}; with multiple thematization, the independent may occur on any one of the themes.

yati.ña	'to know'
yat.iri	'diagnostic medical practitioner'
yat.iri.raki	'also a diagnostic medical practitioner'
yati.rak.iri	'also a diagnostic medical practitioner'
yati.rak.iri.:.t.wa	'I also was a diagnostic medical practitioner'
yati.iri.raki.:.t.wa	'I also was a diagnostic medical practitioner'
yat.iri.:.rak.iri.:.yä.t.wa	'I used to be a diagnostic medical practitioner, too.'
ak.sa.tuqi.n.k.iri.raki.:.t.wa	'I am also from around here.'
ak.sa.tuqi.n.ka.rak.iri.:.t.wa	'I am also from around here.'

*ak.sa.tuqi.na.rak.ka.s.k.t.wa (not possible)

The effect of this rule of permitted occurrence is that the independent suffixes participate in the recursiveness of thematization, again without the upper limits being known (see Chap. IX).

manq'a.ña.:.wi.ni.raki.:.t.wa	'I also have an eating-place.'
manq'a.ña.:.wi.raki.ni.:.t.wa	'I also have an eating-place.'
ch'uñu.ch.iri.raki.:.ña.:.chi.y	'It is also necessary to know how to make chuño.'
ch'uñu.ch.iri.:.ña.raki.:.chi.y	'Also it is necessary to know how to make chuño.'
uta.n.ka.sk.iri.raki.w	'She used to be at home also.'
uta.n.ka.s.ka.rak.i	'She's also in the house.'

When two or more independents co-occur, order is free.

jani.puni.raki.ki.w	'No.'
jani.raki.puni.ki.w	'No.'
jani.ki.puni.raki.w	'No.'

Independents may refer only to the form in which they occur or they may be involved in specifying sentence types. The latter is especially true of -raki. (See individual suffix descriptions and Chap. XII.)

The independents are fewer in number (three, or four, depending on the count), however, they occur with great frequency and constitute one of the salient characteristics of Aymara. The position of the independents in the word is the criterion for the separation of inflection from derivation, and thus the independent marks the end of the stem.

The result of the rules is that

a) particles take independents and then sentence suffixes

jani.raki.w	'No, also.'

b) noun roots and stems follow the same pattern

aka.raki.w	'Thus is it, too.'
ak.sa.raki.w	'Over on this side, too.'

c) verb roots take verbal derivationals, then independents, then inflections, then sentence suffixes

sar.naqa.rak.t.wa	'I am also going around.'

In the case of particles and nouns, until the sentence suffix is added, there is always the possibility of thematization or, in the case of verbs, until the addition of inflections, after which one must proceed directly to the sentence suffixes.

The distribution of the independents shows the verb construction to be markedly different from that of the noun and particle. With the independents tied into the recursiveness of thematization, the flexibility of the system is remarkable.

2.1. $_v$-puni ~ v-pini, 'emphatic'.

The two forms of the emphatic are in free variation. Some of the variation is geographically conditioned; some is idiosyncratically conditioned.

The form is regularly translated as 'siempre' - 'always' in bilingual dictionaries. What it does, however, is indicate that the speaker was surprised; that the situation is extreme; that the speaker continues in intent, hasn't changed his mind; that some aspect of the situation deserves special mention or emphases.

Kun.pin.rak jich"a.st aka.n.st lura.:ta.sti.	And what exactly are you going to do here now?
Jani.w makin sapa.x lur.ka.spa.ti jaqi.mpi.puni.w makina.x lur.i.x.	Machines don't work alone, machines work with the help of people.
Inklisa.st kuna ch'ama.puni.raki.:.spa.sti yati.qa.px.irista.	How hard could English be that it couldn't be learned? We'd learn it.
Kanka.mp p"uti.mp jallpa.wayk'a.mpi.x ya:mas kusa.pini.w.	Then roast meat with boiled chuño with aji sauce is just delicious.

2.2. -ki 'limitative'.

The limitative usually translates 'just' 'only'; in Spanish 'no más'. It often accompanies commands as an additional softener over the sentence suffixes and other command attenuators. It occurs with great frequency and is obligatory in the very common expression wali.ki.w 'OK'.

Wali.ki.w sara.ñani.say.	OK, let's go on over.
Na.naka.x jani.w apill.s ulluk.s uñ.t'a.pk.t.ti yaq"a kast juyra.naka.ki.w ut.ja.px.itu.	We've never seen either apilla or ulluku, we have a different type of food.

Kuna.ru.rak p"axsi.r sara.px.i.st uka tata.naka.sti ut.j.iri jan uka.x aliq uñ.j.t'iri.ki.cha. .	But why did those men go to the moon, to live or just to look around.
Uk"ama.x uk yat.xat.iri.ki.t sara.px.i naya.x kuna.ru.ch sara.px.pach si.s.t.way.	They only go for that? I though that they went for something mo important.
Aka.x ch'uqi.raki.ki.ti.	And is this potato, too?
Na.naka.x inklisa.k.xay parla.px.s.t.xa.	We only speak English you know.
Uka.x ch'usa uta.ki.:.chi.xay.	But that house is empty.
Jani.w t"ay.ja.pk.itu.ti wali.ki.:.si.pk.t.wa.	We're not cold, we're just fine
Awisasa.x marka.xa.n.x. uk"am t"aya.raki.ki.wa.	Sometimes in our country it's cold like this.

2.3. ᵧ-raki aggregate.

This independent acts in many ways more like a sentence suffix than like an independent. Its functions and uses are legion and difficult to summarize. The examples and listing here included must be considered of necessity incomplete. The base meaning of -raki is as an aggregate, 'also' 'too'.

Aymar yati.qa.ñ mun.ta uka.t nayax linkwistika.mp yanap.t'a.ñ muna.rak.ta.	I'd like to learn Aymara, and then I'd like to help with linguistics.
Wali.ki.w uk"ama.x na.naka.x juta.pxa.:.w linkwistik yati.q.iri uka.t juma.r aymar yati.cha.xa.raki.:ma.	Ok, then we'll come to learn linguistics, and we'll teach yo Aymara.
Jis uk"ama.raki.pi:.	Yes, that's the way it is.
Awisas.x marka.xa.n.x uk"am t"aya.raki.ki.wa.	Sometimes in our country it's cold like this.
Awir amuy.t'a.si.pxa.ma.y na.naka.x amuy.t'a.si.pxa.raki.:.wa.	You all think about it, we'll think about it, too
Ch'uqi.w luxu.ya.ña uka.t pa: simana.w uma.r usku.ña uka.t luxu.ya.ña.raki.ki.w uka.t sillp'i.ra.sin wañ.t'a.ya.ña.	The potato has to be put out to freeze in freezing weather, the is placed in the water for two weeks, then it is frozen again after peeling it.
Ak.ni.:.iri.sti kuna.raki.sa.	And this here, what is it?
Aka.x ch'uqi.raki.ki.ti.	And is this potato, too?

-raki as a complainer

Julya.x us.xa.raki.tayna.sä, kuna.t.rak, jan awisa.ya.n.ista?	So Julie's already had the baby! Why didn't you tell me?
Uliwiya.x (chura.m) s.itu.wa Jich"a.st kun.rak chura.:.	'Olivia told me to give him something, but what can I give?

-raki as a cautionary

Uk"ama.x sapa.ki.s mirinta.s.ch.īta.ya, qamaqi.raki.	Well, you'll eat alone then, watch out for the fox.

-raki as an objector

Inklisa.st kuna ch'ama.puni.raki.:.spa.st yati.qa.px.irista.	How hard could English be that it couldn't be learned? We'd learn it.
Kuna.t juk'a.mp.rak yati.qa.ñ mun.ta.sti.	What do you want to learn more for?
Aymar parl.xa.rak.ta.sa:.	But you already speak Aymara!

-raki as defiance or challenge. This is particularly important with the interrogatives, and forms a particular type of question in contrast to the questions formed with sentence suffixes.

Kun.pin.rak jich"a.st aka.n.st lura.:.ta.sti.	And what exactly are you going to do here now?
Kuna.t juk'a.mp.rak yati.qa.ñ mun.ta.sti.	What do you want to learn more for?
Tata kuna.rak linkwistika.sti inklisa.t jan uka.x kastillanu.cha.	Sir, just what is linguistics, is it English or if not, is it Spanish?
Juma.st kawk.sa.n.k.iri.raki.:.ta.sti.	And from what place are you?
Kastillanu.st kuna.raki naya.x aymar yat.t.xa.	What good's Spanish? I know Aymara!

2.4. -jama 'simulator'.

The suffix -jama is basically a substantive suffix (see Chap. VIII 3.22.3). Almost all of the examples occur on stems that are obvious substantives. Although -jama follows all other substantive suffixes, ordinarily it precedes the other independents and does not occur in free order variation relative to other independents. There are however, some exceptions, (see example below). Furthermore, occurrences with verbs are not all entirely unambiguous.

On the other hand, -jama does occur with particles, frequently with jani, the status of which is in doubt, but which certainly is not a full noun. The semantic force of -jama is frequently like that of a universal suffix - affecting the entire sentence, in this case with doubt, pensiveness, more-or-lessness or tentativeness.

For these reasons, -jama is included both in Chap.VIII and in Chap. IX; hopefully further analysis may clarify the situation.

Ju, k"arik"ari.n k"ar.su.t.jama.ki.sä.	'Wow! It looks like he's had his fat taken by a k'arik"ari!'
Kä asnu.x t'aq.su.ch.jama.raki.tayna.sä.	'It looks like that donkey broke loose from his stake.'
Muna.ch.jama.cha.rak.t.wa.	'Perhaps I would like some.'

Most of the examples with verbs involve also the occurrence of -ch. It is unclear which -ch this is and whether or not it may be related to the -ch of the independents -chim or -chix.

⟨K"aya.:.ka.nak pasi.y.t'a.si.ni.ñan⟩ sa.s.jam irpa.ni.rap.itasman.	'You could say, "We'll go over that way" bringing her.'

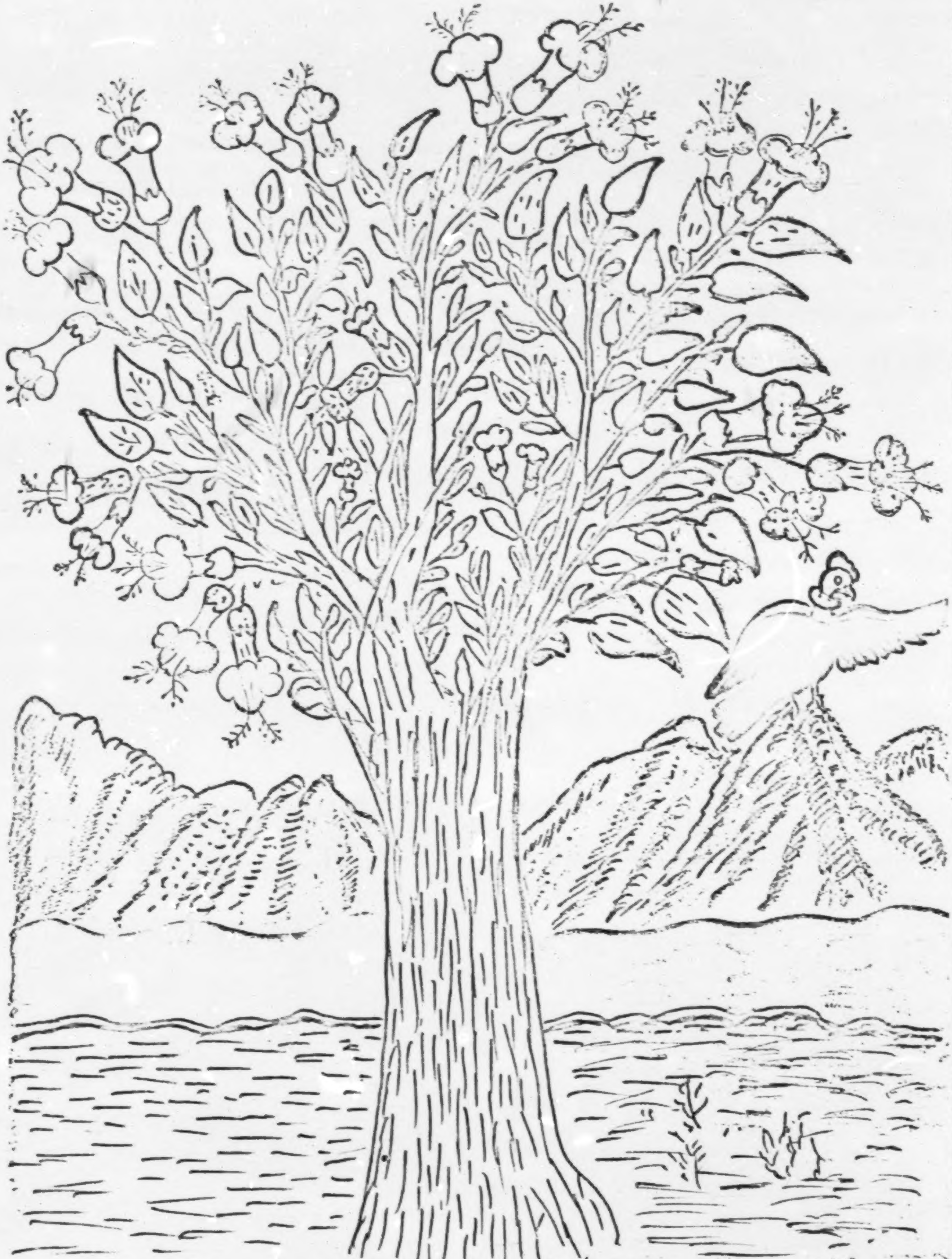
Substantive suffixes do not ordinarily occur with -sa and -sina subordinates.

Co-occurrence with other independents:

Uwij.ita.s uywa.si.ñ.jama.raki.	'One could raise sheep, I think.'
Suma wayna.k.jama.ki.w na.taki.x.	'I think he's a good man for me.'
Yuqalla.s kulira.t.jama.ki.:.xa.raki.w.	'Looks like our son is angry.'

Other examples:

⟨Jan uta.sa.n.jama.:.ka.spa.t⟩ s.i.	'She said he just couldn't get used to living in our house.'
Jich"a.x mun.ir.jama.:.ska.rak.i.w.	'Now, more or less, they agree.'
Uka.t.x⟨mam.it mun.ir.jama.raki.:t jan.jama.raki.w⟩ s.i.w.	'Then he said, "Now, mother, it seems that on the one hand I don't really agree."'



CHAPTER XI

SENTENCE SUFFIXES

1. Introduction

Sentence suffixes occur finally after all other suffixes and tie the form in stipulated ways to the sentence as a whole. Sentence suffixes occur only on the final word of syntactic units; e.g., a phrase is never interrupted by a sentence suffix (unless the elements of the phrase are not contiguous).

Sentence suffixes are syntactically obligatory; the distribution is described in Chapter XII. They are extraordinarily hard to translate, there being no comparable categories in Indo-European languages. More often than not, where a translation is possible, it will be via intonation rather than with some segmental form. Therefore, translation will, in general, not reflect the sentence suffix.

This chapter describes the suffixes individually; Chapter XII discusses syntactic use and structures based on syntactic description.

2. Description of suffixes

No more than two sentence suffixes may occur per word and only then in a very set fashion. Part one discusses the individual suffixes; part two the combined occurrences.

2.1 Individual suffixes

There are eleven sentence suffixes in Aymara.[1] The first four (2.1.1-2.1.4) listed below account for the overwhelming proportion of occurrences; indeed it is difficult to get through any Aymara text of any length without at least one occurrence of each; in fact, it is a rare Aymara sentence that does not have at least one of them. The first may occur as often per sentence as there are words in the sentence; the other three are limited to one occurrence per sentence, with the exception of saña embedding (see Chapter XII). The next five (2.1.5-2.1.9) account for virtually all of the remaining single occurrences, in approximately descending order of frequency, although none could be said to be rare. They ordinarily occur once per sentence, but not necessarily. The next to the last (2.1.10) occurs frequently as a second element; is rarely alone. The last (2.1.11) must be followed by another suffix and is included in this list for completeness.

In morphophonemics, all sentence suffixes allow the preceding morpheme to determine its own form. Vowel dropping, e.g., for the zero complement, takes place before the sentence suffix. Loss of final vowel is common.

2.1.1 { -xa} attenuator topic marker, affirmative

If { -xa} occurs in a sentence with -wa or other overriding suffixes, it is a topic marker.

naya.*x* sara.:.wa 'I will go.'

If it occurs without such suffixes, it acts as an attenuator.

(naya.*x*) sara.:.*xa* 'I'll go, I guess, O.K.?'

{-xa} may occur as many times as there are words in a sentence; it may be the only sentence suffix. In these cases, {-xa} may act both as topic marker and as attenuator.

ch"armanti.*x* juma.*x* iskuyla.r jut.ta.*xa*

'This morning you came to school (I do believe, right?).'

{-xa} may occur in all types of sentences, with no known restrictions. This suffix is far and away the most frequent of all suffixes.

2.1.2 -wa affirmative, absolute

Only one {-wa} per sentence is permitted (but see saña embedding, Chapter XII); the {-wa} marks the sentence as affirmative and/or or personal knowledge. The {-wa} directly answers {-ti} and {-sa} questions, occurring on the corresponding grammatical item in the answer.

kuna.*s* us.tam	p'iqi.*w* us.utu
'What hurts you?'	'My head hurts me.'
juma.x sara.:ta.*ti*	jis, sara.:.*wa*
'Are you going?'	'Yes, I am going.'

{-wa} does not occur with the inferential {-pacha} except in *direct* answer to questions, virtually always of the -ti type.

sar.pacha.ni.*ti*	jis, sar.pacha.ni.*wa*
'Do you infer that he will go?'	'Yes, I infer that he will go.'

-wa does *not* occur with the suppositional, nor does the suppositional occur in questions. It also does not occur in imperative sentences, where its omission is significant. Imperatives also do not occur in questions except with saña embedding.

The specific placement of -wa in a sentence of personal knowledge will depend upon the question the speaker intends to answer; the question the speaker was asking himself may be apparent only through the placement of the {-wa}.

Example: 'Mary gave the baby bread.'

who? k"iti.s Mariya.w wawa.r t'ant' chur.i

to whom? k"iti.ru.s Mariya.x wawa.ru.w t'ant' chur.i

what happened? kamach.i.s Mariya.x wawa.r t'ant' chur.i.wa

what? kun.s Mariya.x wawa.r t'ant'.$\emptyset^2$ chur.i

There is no 'neutral' statement, although Aymara speakers do tend to ask certain questions about some situations more than other things; such a study involves the whole culture.

2.1.3 {-sa} information question

{-sa }marks one of the two basic question types of Aymara. It ordinarily co-occurs with an interrogative, either directly on the interrogative or on a construction containing it.

kuna.s suti.ma.xa	'What is your name?'
kuna suti.ma.s juma.n.xa	'What name is yours?'

Only one {-sa} occurs per sentence.

2.1.4 { -ti} interrogative/negative

This suffix is said to have two functions, rather than judging there to be two homophonous suffixes, on the basis of comparative data and proto-Jaqi reconstructions. Also, although required for the negative, it is not sufficient thereto.

2.1.41 { -ti} as yes/no interrogative

-ti marks one of the two basic question types of Aymara. It occurs on the construction demanded in the reply. The reply is expected to be yes or no.

Mariya.t wawa.r t'ant' chur.i. 'Did Mary give the baby some bread?'

Mariya.wa. Janiw mariya.:.k.i.ti. 'Yes, she did.' 'No, she didn't.'

Mariya.x wawa.ru.t t'ant' chur.i. 'Did Mary give the bread to the baby?'

Wawa.ru.wa. Janiw wawa.ru.ti. 'Yes, she did.' 'No, she didn't.'

Mariya.x wawa.r t'ant'.t chur.i.' 'Did Mary give bread to the baby?'

T'ant'.wa. Janiw t'ant'.ti. 'Yes, she did.' 'No, she didn't.'

Mariya.x wawa.r t'ant' chur.i.ti. 'Did Mary give bread to the baby?'

Chur.i.wa. Janiw chur.k.i.ti. 'Yes, she did.' 'No, she didn't.'

Jisa may or may not occur in affirmative replies.

2.1.42 {-ti} as negative

{-ti} is required in all negative sentences. It occurs where -wa would occur if the sentence were affirmative. However, alone it is not sufficient: it is always accompanied by *jani* somewhere in the sentence. See the negative answer examples in 2.1.41. In verbs or verbalizations negation is ordinarily accompanied by the derivational suffix -ka incompletive; for practical purposes, for the outsider, this can be considered an absolute requirement, but it is not so: there are times when it does not and cannot occur: it adds nothing specifically negative to the sentence. Rather, this use can be seen to reflect a world view in which a negative is rarely absolute.

Jani.w pata.tuq sar.iri.:.*ka*.ya:t.ti· jich"a.ki.pani.w sar.ta.

'No, I didn't used to go to the high plain· I am just now going.'

Nayra.x sawu.ñ yati.ya:t.wa, jich"a.x *jani*.w yat.x.t.*ti*.

'I used to know how to knit, but I don't anymore.'

2.1.5 {-sti} follow-up

{-sti} may replace any of the preceding four suffixes, turning the sentence into a follow-up. It occurs most often in lieu of {-ti} or {-sa}, thus marking a follow-up question. It does not ordinarily occur in the first sentence of a context: such an occurrence is judged extremely rude even when referring to previous events known to both parties.

Jich"a.kama.st kun.rak lur.ta 'And what have you been doing up to now?!' (I told you to hurry right home after school. - a scold to a child upon entering late.)

Because it shares properties of all previous suffixes, it may occur more than once per sentence.

Juma.*st* kawk.sa.n.k.iri.raki.:.ta.*sti*. 'And you, just what place are you from?' (tenth sentence in dialogue)

Inklisa.*st* kuna ch'ama.puni.raki.:.spa.*sti* .

'And English, just how hard could it be!?!' (beyond twentieth sentence and reaction to previous comment)

Ak.n.:.iri.*sti* kuna.raki.sa . 'And this here, what is it?' (replacing -xa)

Juma.naka.n.*sti* yuntu.ma.x ut.ja.raki.:n.sa. 'But you-all had a team.'

Jisk'a lulu.*sti* surwinu.pa.raki.w tata Ruwirtu.na: jupa.*sti* Karlu sa.ta.w.

'The little boy is his nephew of Mr. Robert, and his name is Charles.

2.1.6 {-ya} politive, vocative, attenuator

{-ya} marks a sentence as politive; it may soften a command, call the attention of an addressee, or request attention for what one is saying. It may occur wherever any of the first four suffixes may, displacing them; it also, frequently, occurs in imperative sentences. It may also replace {-wa} attenuating the sentence, but much less than {-xa}.

q"ana.:.chi.ni.ya	'It will all be clear.'
kimsa.ni.ru.y chur.ita	'Give it to me for thirteen, please.'
juma.ki.y amuy.t'a.m	'You look after it.'
anch"ita.w juta.: ; liw.j.ka.ma.y	'I'll be right there, you go ahead and serve.'

2.1.7 {-sa}$_2$ lister, aggregate, indefinator[3]

{-sa}$_2$ has various functions which will be listed separately.

{-sa}$_2$ may be used for a list, added to each member.

ch'uqi.s apilla.s jawasa.s ach.u	'Potatoes, ocas, broadbeans are produced.'

linkwistika.x jani.w inklisa.ki.s ni kastillanu.ki.s

'Linguistics is neither English nor Spanish.'

{-sa}$_2$ added to an interrogative results in an indefinite, usually used with the negative to produce a no-member category.

kun.s mun.ta	jani.w kun.sa
'What do you want?'	'Nothing.'
kawk.s sara.:ta	jani.w kawk.sa
'Where are you going?'	'Nowhere.'

jani.w makina.s kuna.s ut.ja.p.k.itu.ti	'We don't have any machines at all.'
jich"a.x makina.ki.w kun.s lur.x.i	'Now machines do everything.'

{-sa}$_2$ is also used for listing sentences, even when the list consists only of two. This use is distinguished from the {-sti} in that it is not used in questions normally and in that it ties the group together, rather than just following up a previous item.

uk"ama.x juma.x t"aya.n sar.naq.iri.s yati.ta.:.pacha:.ta.xay

'Then you are no doubt used to living in the cold.'

maki.y q"ip.t'a.raki.sma; k"a: wawa.naka.s niya.w sar.xa.px.i

'Hurry, be careful you don't get left behind, those other children have already gone.'

kawki.:iri.rak waxra.si.n mun.i; mansu.naka.ki.raki.:.n.sa

'But which one could have wanted to goad; they were so tame.'

{-sa}$_2$ often occurs with the desiderative; desiderative sentences are themselves often additions to the conversation.

jani.s sara.p.ka.sman 'You-all really ought not go.'

2.1.8 {-cha} alternative interrogative

The {-cha} type question presents the listener with a choice of two.

{-cha} may mark one of the alternatives and be the only question mark in the sentence.

ch'iyar irilla quy.cha 'Black or white (potatoes)?'

More commonly, another question suffix occurs on the first alternate, usually { -ti }, and { -cha } on the second.

yuqalla.t[5] imilla.cha 'Is it a boy or a girl?'

For alternatives to be carefully contemplated, the phrase jan uka 'not that' may be additionally employed.

aka uraqi.n.jama.t jaqi.x ut.ja.spa jan uka.x jani.cha

'Could there be people like on this earth, or not?'

kuna.rak linkwistika.sti inklisa.t jan uka.x kastillanu.cha

"And linguistics, is it English or Spanish?'

The first alternative is not always stated.

juma.naka.x makina.mpi.ch lura.px.ta.xa: 'And do you-all work with machines?'

naya.x ⟨kuna.ru.ch sara.px.pach⟩ si.s.t.way

'I thought they went for something more important.' i.e., 'I said to myself, 'For what might they have gone?''

2.1.9 {-pi} exclamatory, of course, of the previously known or very obvious

{-pi} rarely occurs without {-:}, see second section below.

walik.pi	'that's O.K., of course.'

2.1.10 {-:} exclamatory, well!

-: ordinarily occurs after some other sentence suffix (see second section below).

⟨jan makina.naka.x aka.n ut.j.k.i.t ⟩s.i.:

'There are no machines here, they say!'

2.1.11 {-chi-} hearsay information

{-chi-} occurs only with {-m} or {-xa} following; {-m} occurs only with {-chi-} preceding.[4] {-chi-} occurs only in sentences with a suppositional inflection.

k"ari.k"ari.chim k"ar.su.s.k.chi	'No doubt the k"arik"ari butchered him.'

2.2 Suffix combinations

The sentence suffixes do not combine freely. Combinations longer than two have not been found.

2.2.1 {-:} and {-ya} may occur on all suffixes except themselves and {-chi-}. If the suffix ends in /i/ it is impossible to tell the difference; vowel dropping is so common that the most common allomorph of {-ya} is /-y/. Also, further complicating judgment, /ya/ frequently reduces to /:/ (see Chapter III). The following combinations with {-:} and {-ya} are attested.

{-xaya}		{-xa:}
{-waya}		
{-saya}		{-sa:}
	{-ti$\frac{:}{y}$}	
	{-sti$\frac{:}{y}$}	
{-chaya}		{-cha:}
	{-pi$\frac{:}{y}$}	

Examples:

{-xaya} attenuator/topic plus 'well,' Spanish 'pues'

uka.x ch'usa uta.ki.:.chi.xay   'But thathouse is so empty.'

{-xa:} attenuator/topic plus exclamation, 'but'

juma.naka.x makina.mpi.ch lura.p.x.ta.xa: 'And do you-all work with machines?!'

{-waya} absolute   'of course' 'clearly' 'pues'

turara.n qut uñ.j.t'.iri.ki.way   'Well, just to see Totora Lake.'

This combination is frequently used to diminish the importance of the absolute personal knowledge statement without detracting from its validity.

{-saya} {-sa}$_2$ 'pues, well'   'If you say so.'

waliki.w sara.ñani.say   'O.K., let's go on over (you suggested it).'

{-sa:}   {-sa}$_2$ 'wow, but!'

aymar parl.wa.rak.ta.sa: 'But you already Aymara!'

{-sa:}   {-sa}   interrogative + 'wow, but!'

qawq"a.:.x.i.sa: 'Now, how much does all that add up to?!'

{-tiy} or {-ti} is most frequent in subordinations and/or uka resumator situations, in contrast with {-tixa} (see Chapter XII).

kuna.tiy wakis.k.i uka   'What ever is necessary, that.'

{-stiy} or {-stī} usually used for objectives

kun.rak jut.ta.sti: 'And what do you come for!?'

{-cha:} makes the question a request for reply, 'please tell me.'

... ut.j.iri jan uka.x aliq uñ.j.t'.iri.ki.cha:

'to live or just to look around? please.'

Tiyu, tutura.ma.x ut.ja.s.k.i.cha:, ⟨may.t'a.si.ni.ñani.w⟩ sa.:n.way.

'Uncle, if you have any Totora, he said, 'let's ask him for some.''

{-chaya}   doubtful alternate question

jani.chay apa.n.ka.ni   'Maybe he won't be bringing it?'

{-piy} or {-pī} 'certainly ' 'yes, indeed' 'yes, of course' 'for sure now '

juta.ki.:ta.piy   'Do come again, please.'

jis uk"ama.raki.pī   'Yes, indeed, that's the way it is.'

yati.si.p.x.irist.piy   'We'd get used to it, certainly.'

waliki.w yati.cha.p.x.itäta.piy   'O.K., you-all please do teach me.'

This combination, of very frequent occurrence relative to other combinations, adds a 'punch' to the sentence, a reinforcement of what is being said.

2.2.2 Combinations with {-xa}

There are two attested: {-chix} and {-tixa}.

{-chix} occurs in suppositional sentences (see {-chi-} above).

K"ari.k"ari.chi.x k"ar.su.s.k.ch.i	Maybe the k"arik"ari is butchering him.
Alwa.t.chi.x sara.s.k.chi.ni	'Watch out that he goes too early; he just might up and go too early.'

{-tixa} is used primarily in subordination (see Chapter XII). It occurs on an interrogative making it part of a subordination rather than an interrogative, referring ahead to the uka subordination.

kuna aru.naka.tix aka uraqi.n ut.j.k.i.x uk.xat yat yati.ña.w

'Whatever languages there are in this earth, about that it must investigate.'

2.2.3 Other combinations. So far only {-tis'i} has been attested, indicating an amazed type of question.

Irpa.waya.p.x.irisma.piy, pir juma.naka.st

yati.si.p.xa.sma.ti.sti.

'We might be able to take you, but would you be able to get used to it there?'

FOOTNOTES

[1] /-ch"a/ occurs, often, in the final position and appears to be a sentence or independent suffix, but is an allormorph of the particle {jich"a}, frequently reduced, both preclitically and postclitically to /ch"a/, e.g., ch"armantix 'this morning'; awir sara.ñan.ch"a.: 'let's go see now'.

[2] For the zero allomorph of {-wa} following zero complement see chaps. V and VIII. Briefly, when {-wa} would occur with a zero complement, (obligatory vowel dropping) the zero allormorph of -wa occurs, unless the zero complement is the last word in the sentence. In the present example the simplest answer to the last question would be t'ant'.*wa*.

[3] This suffix is seen as homophonous with {-sa} information interrogative on comparative grounds and proto-Jaqi reconstruction. This {-sa}$_2$ is apparently the result of the collapse of two (at least) proto-Jaqi suffixes of the -CCV variety which reduced to -CV, and resulted homophonous and overlapping in function, and then collapsed.

[4] {-m} is apparently the only reflex left of a proto-Jaqi -CCV suffix ({-mna}) reduced to -CV ({-ma}) and then, apparently bowing to pressures of homophony, was reduced in contexts.

[5] Many speakers say *lluqalla* rather than yuqalla.

Chart for Chapters X - XI

Independent	Sentence suffixes	
suffixes	questions	statement
$_v$-ki	-sa	-xa
$_v$-puni	-ti	-wa
$_v$-raki	-cha	-sa$_2$
	-sti	-pi
	-xa	-sti
(-jama)	negative	
	-ti	non-statement
(-ch"a)		-ya
		$_v$-:
		-chim

Sentence suffix combinations

Questions	Statements	Subordination
-tisti	-piya	-tiya
-sa:	-sa:$_2$	-tixa
-cha:	-saya	
-sti:	-waya	Non-statements
-chaya	-xaya	-chix
		-xa:

CHAPTER XII

SYNTAX

0. Only the barest outlines of Aymara syntax are presented in this chapter. Work is currently underway which hopefully will result in a more complete analysis. Some of the findings presented here are tentative and subject to modification following further study, particularly in the section on permutations and subordination, but the basic principles and structural features are well confirmed. With this caveat we launch into Aymara syntax.

1. Basic sentence structure

The Aymara sentence is defined by the use of sentence suffixes. No other morphological node may make a sentence of a list of words; the proper occurrence of these suffixes will turn virtually any string of words into a sentence. Word order is grammatically significant only within phrases (see 2.2 below).

For example, the following sentence, 'We of this world are all one people, we must not make ourselves be small, (i.e., we must not belittle ourselves)' consists of five syntactical units, four words and one phrase, viz:

jaqi.x	'people'
maya.ki.:.tan.wa	'we are one'
aka pacha.n.xa	'on this earth'
jani.w	negative - linked to following verb with use of {-ti} on the verb
jisk'a.cha.si.ña.sa.:.k.i.ti	'we must not make ourselves to be small'

The double occurrence of -wa indicates two sentences joined by juxtaposition. The two elements marked with -xa belong to both together. Below, as examples, are nine of the possible 25 permutations, which affect only style, not grammar or basic semantics. Only the negative and its verb remain contiguous in this set, but not in the same order; this is not necessary - the two are often far separated.

Order

1 2 3 4 5 Jaqi.x maya.ki.:.tan.wa, jani.w jisk'a.cha.si.ña.sa.:.k.i.t aka pacha.n.xa.

2 1 3 4 5 Maya.ki.:.tan.w jaqi.xa, jani.wa jisk'a.cha.si.ña.sa.:.k.i.t aka pacha.n.xa.

3 4 5 1 2 Jani.w jisk'a.cha.si.ña.sa.:.k.i.t aka pacha.n.xa, jaqi.x maya.ki.:.tan.wa.

3 4 5 2 1 Jani.w jisk'a.cha.si.ña.sa.:.k.i.t aka pacha.n.xa, maya.ki.:.tan.wa jaqi.xa.

Order (cont.)

2 5 1 4 3 Maya.ki.:.tan.wa aka pacha.n.xa jaqi.xa,
jisk'a.cha.si.ña.sa.:.k.i.t jani.wa.

5 1 3 4 2 Aka pacha.n.x jaqi.x jani.w jisk'a.cha.si.ña.sa.:.k.i.ti,
maya.ki.:.tan.wa.

1 5 2 3 4 Jaqi.x aka pacha.n.x maya.ki.:.tan.wa,
jani.wa jisk'a.cha.si.ña.sa.:.k.i.ti.

1 3 4 5 2 Jaqi.x jani.w jisk'a.cha.si.ña.sa.:.k.i.t aka pacha.n.xa,
maya.ki.:.tan.wa.

5 2 1 3 4 Aka pacha.n.xa maya.ki.:.tan.wa jaqi.xa,
jani.w jisk'a.cha.si.ña.sa.:.k.i.ti.

Most Aymara sentences are at least two part, e.g., there are two grammatical structures related to each other in a particular way by the sentence suffixes. There is, however, a simpler sentence frame of less frequent occurrence but by no means rare, which is the plain -wa sentence. The plain -wa sentence may be a simple one-word sentence or it may be fairly long but marked as unitary. This marking is common for 'background' type statements with no particular emphasis, and, of the shorter version, for utterances consisting of particles, set expressions, etc. The plain -wa is also subject to permutations (see 3. below).

Ma: tata.w pata.tuqi.n ma: iskuylar pur.i.
'A man comes to a school in the highlands.'

Jisk'a p"ucha.pa.ki.w uka.n.ka.s.k.i.
'Only her little daughter is there.'

Waliki.w.	'O.K.'
Ch'uqi.w luxu.ya.ña.	'The potato has to be put out to freeze.'
Jani.w .	'No.'
Naya.w.	'Me.'

These words without the sentence suffix do not constitute an Aymara utterance. Jani and naya may be given in response to translation stimulus by bilingual informants, but not in a normal corpus of the language.

Sometimes a plain-wa appears to be only the -wa half of a -xa/-wa sentence, e.g.,

Chur.t.wa.
'I gave.'

Aka.t mara.ru.w kut.xa.pxa.:
'One year from now we will go back.'

The forms naya.x in the first sentence and na.naka.x in the second could easily be added, and, in fact, will be when the speaker is asked to repeat. Virtually all of these plain -wa sentences that appear to be lonely halves are verbs. Nouns more easily stand as separate units because no noun unambiguously or necessarily implicates any verb, while verbs do implicate nouns. For fuller explanation see 1.1 below.

Because the allomorph of {-wa} is Ø after a zero complement or a {-ta} or {-na} noun phrase, sentences apparently without sentence suffixes are, in reality, plain -wa sentences.

Aymar yati.qa.ñ.Ø mun.ta.	'I want to learn Aymara.'
Lunis uru.t.Ø qall.ta.:.	'I'll start Monday.'

1.1 -xa/-wa statement

The basic statement in Aymara is the -xa/-wa sentence. Basically, it is an equivalence sentence putting in equation the two parts so marked.

Aka.x apilla.wa.	'This is ulluco.'
Naya.x t"uq.uri.:.t.wa.	'I am a dancer.'
Manq'a.x q"at.x.i.w.	'The food is cooked.'
Uka.x pa: tunk p"isqa.ni.w aruwa.	'That is 25 per arroba.'

More complex sentences:

Na.naka.x amuy.t'a.si.p.xa.raki.:.wa.	'We'll think about it, too.'
Naya.x Istarusunirus.tuqi.t.Ø jut.ta.	'I come from the United States.'
Uka.x ch'uñu.:.w pampa.wa.	'That is the ch'uño making flat.'
Suti.pa.x Tuluris Waraqu sa.ta.w.	'Her name is Dolores Huaraco.'
Jich"a.x yaq"a tinta.ru.w uñ.ta.y.i.	'So she shows him to another store.'

Aka.t q"ipa.ru.w jupa.naka.t parla.ña.x tuk.t'a.ya.ta.:.ni.

'From here to some day behind, of them the talking will be caused to be finished.' (i.e., 'From now on, talking about them will cease.')

In any one basic sentence, the occurrences of {-wa} are limited to one; the occurrences of {-xa} are not so limited. In a -xa/-wa sentence they tend to be cumulative and then placed in balance against the -wa part.

With two {-xa} (very common):

Awisasa.x marka.xa.n.x uk"am t"aya.raki.ki.wa.

'Sometimes in our country, it's cold like this.'

Jaqi.mpi.puni.w makina.x lur.i.x. 'With people, still machines work.'

Naya.taki.x jiwaki.w aka quta irwaqa.xa.

'For me the lake shore is very nice.'

Ma: imilla.x awki.pa.mpi.x parla.kipa.si.p.k.i.wa.

'A girl talks with her father.'

Jupa.x nink"ara.w juta.:n.xa. 'He was coming a minute ago.'

With three {-xa}:

Jich"a.x jiwasa.x jupa.r t'ant' chura.ni.waya.ñani.w uta.sa.n.xa.

'Now we shall give him bread in our house.'

Q"aruru.x mama turista.x tata ch'uñu.ch.iri.mpi.x ak.sa.ru.w juta.ni.

'Tomorrow the lady tourist will come over this way with the chuño maker.'

Typically, most grammatical units in the sentence are marked with some sentence suffix, {-xa} if there is no reason for any other. Time and space referents, especially, are rarely left 'naked' and account for most of the piling up of {-xa}. On the other hand, complements specifically implied by the verb in a sentence with a verb which are thus a type of redundancy typically go 'naked' unless there is some specific reason for marking.

Because of the predominance of the NP + VP sentence structure in Indo-European languages, there have been repeated attempts to see the Aymara sentence in this fashion. Even graduate students in linguistics are not entirely immune. Ordinarily, {-xa} is called NP, {-wa} is called VP. The reasons for this are not hard to understand: translation elicitation will regularly give the following sentence:

Juma.x chura.:ta.wa. 'You will give.'

Presumably, this is the Aymara reaction to the question of the investigator who appears to be most interested in the verb. All other types occur, and with regular frequency.

Juma.w chura.:ta.xa. 'You will give.'

Juma.x chura.:ta.xa. 'You will give, OK?'

(The reader is advised to look also at the examples given so far in this chapter.)

NP + NP

Uka.x apilla.t luxu.cha.ta.wa. 'That is frozen oca.'

NPwa VPxa

Nink"ara.w juta.n.i.xa. 'A few minutes ago, he came here.'

Particle -wa (jani) NP-xa

Jani.w pa tunka.ru.xa. 'Not for 20.'

Contrast pair

Naya.w linkwista.:.t.xa. 'I am the linguist.'

(You didn't know which person was the linguist.)

Naya.x linkwista.:.t.wa. 'I am a linguist.'

(You didn't know my profession.)

{-wa} marks the crux of the information - that which is presumably new to the listener. Perhaps this feature of "importance" has been central to the identification: VP's are more "important" in Indo-European than NP's; {-wa} marks "importance" in Aymara, and therefore is assigned by Indo-European speakers to VP. It should be noted that the correlates of the feature "important" are vastly different in the two language structures.

Illustrating VP + VP is difficult for the following reasons:

Because of extensive nominalization, because all non-uka subordinations are nominal structures at the outer level rather than verb structures, NP's are the more frequent structure statistically at the syntactic level.

Because inflected verbs (required for a genuine VP) are limited to one per sentence (a feature they do indeed share with {-wa} and the interrogative correlates), any VP + VP will involve subordination, and therefore belongs in section 4.3 rather than here.

Nevertheless, one example, explained further in 4.3, is given here. It is a -xa/-wa sentence of the equivalence type, only complex.

Kuna aru.naka.tix aka uraqi.n ut.j.k.i.x uk.xat yati.ña.w.

'It studies all the languages of the world.'

In other words, nouns alone make building blocks for simple -xa/-wa sentences (as well as for more complex types), verbs alone do not.

The tense labeled obligatory in Chapter VII most frequently occurs with {-wa}.

Iskular sara.ña.xa.w. 'I have to go to school.'

It may be attenuated, however (see 3 below), in which case it may lose much of its obligatory force. In other words, absolute possession of an action equals obligation.

1.2 -xa/-ti and -xa/-sa questions

The specific placement of {-wa} in any given sentence depends upon the underlying question; {-wa} occurs on the same grammatical structure that the question suffix occurred on (or in the case of unspoken questions, would have occurred on). {-ti} and {-sa} are subject to the same limitations of occurrence as {-wa}, i.e., one per basic sentence. Plain -sa and plain -ti questions also occur:

K"a: pampa.n kuna.s ut.j.i.	'What is there on that flat?'
Kuna.mpi.s manq'a.ña.	'With what is it eaten?'
Suma.ti.	'Is it good?'
Uk"a.ru.puni.t chura.:ta.	'Are you still going to give it at that?'
Uka.t.t alwa.t jut.ta.	'You came early for that?'

{-sa, -ti, -wa} are, therefore, mutually exclusive. {-xa} occurs identically with all three.

Chart I takes a list of five words and shows how a {-sa} and a {-ti} question would be formed involving each separate one. The response would be the same, except that the {-ti} may optionally elicit jisa or uk"amaw 'yes' or 'thus it is' instead of or in addition to the answers given in the chart.

The complete answer examples are more complete than readily found in normal conversations: much of the already known will be omitted: particularly when answering a spoken question, the one word answer is most common except for the zero complement which for stylistic reasons usually has the verb repeat. **Number 3 would be better stylistically as: T'ant'.Ø. chur.i. 'She gave him bread.'**

Also, ordering changes would be common, typically in placing the more 'interesting' material closer to the beginning of the sentence.

1.3 Negation

The basic sentences may be negated in the following way:

> particle jani 'negative' to which {-wa} is attached: {-ti} where {-wa} would otherwise be in the sentence: {-xa} as always.

If the sentence has a verb, the verb attracts the {-ti} like a magnet; only specific reasons will override. A verb which is not to carry {-ti} will ordinarily be omitted, thus opening the way to verbalization of NP's. NP's bearing {-ti} will be verbalized unless they are complements, which precludes verbalization.

For example, the minimal answers to the -xa/-ti questions in chart I would be:

1. Jani.w Marya.:.k.i.ti. 'No, it wasn't Mary.'
2. Jani.w wawa.ru.ti. 'No, not to the children.'
3. Jani.w t'ant'.ti. 'No, not bread.'
4. Jani.w chur.k.i.ti. 'No, she didn't give it to him.'
5. Jani.w uta.pa.n.k.k.i.ti. 'No, not in her house.'

(It will be noted that verbs in negative sentences regularly take the derivational suffix {-ka }'incompletive.' This is not an absolute requirement - does not occur in many cases (see ex. 3 below) - but reflects the Aymara world view. Because of the difficulty of absorbing the view, it is practical for speakers of Indo-European to consider it virtually obligatory.)

Other examples of negative -wa/-ti sentences:

Jani.w makin sapa.x lur.ka.spa.ti. 'Machines don't work alone.'

Jani.w naya.x sum aymar parla.ñ yat.k.t.ti. 'I don't know how to speak Aymara well.

Jani.w jich"a.x na.naka.x waka.mp lur.xa.p.x.t.ti. 'We don't work with oxen now.'

{-wa} may occur on other elements in the sentence.

Qullqi.w jan ut.j.k.itu.ti. 'Money I don't have.'

Negative responses to {-sa }questions involve a different structure: {-sa}$_2$ 'lister' is used instead of {-ti} and co-occurs with an interrogative making an absolute indefinite. The {-ti} may still occur elsewhere in the sentence, particularly if there is a verb, but is not required as is the case for a {-ti }yes/no question.

For example, negative answers to the {-sa/-xa} questions chart I of 1.2 would be:

1. Jani.w k"iti.sa. 'No one.'
2. Jani.w k"iti.ru.sa. 'To no one.'
3. Jani.w kun.sa. 'Nothing.'

Chart [illegible]I.1 Basic questions and answers

{-sa question}	{-ti question}	
Q. K"iti.s wawa.r t'ant' chur.i uta.pa.n.xa. 'Who gave the child bread in her house?'	Q. Mariya.t wawa.r t'ant' chur.i uta.pa.n.xa. 'Did Mary give the child bread in her house?'	A. Mariya.w wawa.r t'ant' chur.i uta.pa.n.xa. 'Mary gave bread to the child in her house.' A. Mariya.wa. 'Mary.'
Q. K"iti.ru.s mariya.x t'ant' chur.i uta.pa.n.xa. 'To whom did Mary give bread in her house?'	Q. Mariya.x wawa.ru.t t'ant' chur.i uta.pa.n.xa. 'Did Mary give the child bread in her house?'	A. Mariya.x wawa.ru.w t'ant' chur.i uta.pa.n.xa. 'Mary gave the child bread in her house.' A. Wawa.ru.wa. 'To the child.'
Q. Kun.s mariya.x wawa.r chur.i uta.pa.n.xa. 'What did Mary give the child in her house?	Q. Mariya.x wawa.r t'ant'.t chur.i uta.pa.n.xa. 'Did Mary give bread to the child in her house?'	A. Mariya.x wawa.r t'ant'.∅ chur.i uta.pa.n.xa. 'Mary gave bread to the child in her house.' A. T'ant'.wa. 'Bread.'
Q. Kamach.i.s mariya.x wawa.r t'ant'.x uta.pa.n.xa. 'What did Mary the bread to the child in her house?'	Q. Mariya.x wawa.r t'ant' chur.i.ti uta.pa.n.xa. 'Did Mary give bread to the child in her house?'	A. Mariya.x wawa.r t'ant' chur.i.wa uta.pa.n.xa. 'Mary gave bread to the child in her house.' A. Chur.i.wa. 'She gave it to him.'
Q. Kawki.n.s mariya.x wawa.r t'ant' chur.i.x. 'Where did Mary give bread to the child?'	Q. Mariya.x wawa.r t'ant' chur.i.x uta.pa.n.ti. 'Did Mary give bread to the child in her house?'	A. Mariya.x wawa.r t'ant' chur.i.x uta.pa.n.wa. 'Mary gave the child bread in her house.' A. Uta.pa.n.wa. 'In her house.'

4. Jani.w kamach.k.i.sa. 'She did nothing.'

5. Jani.w kawki.n.sa. 'No where.'

Other examples of negative -wa/-sa sentences:

Jani.w makina.s kuna.s ut.ja.p.k.itu.ti. 'We have no machines of any kind.'

If {-ti} occurs directly on the negative particle, the result is a negative yes/no question ('yes' is the expected answer rather than a neutral stance to the answer).

Jani.t llaki.si.p.ka.sma 'Wouldn't you be homesick?'

Negative sentences, like all basic sentences, are subject to permutations (see 3. below). Indeed, the {-sa} answer and the {-ti} on negative may be so considered and are more fully explained in section 3.

1.4 Summary of basic sentences.

The four suffixes {-xa, -wa, -ti, -sa} are the foundation of Aymara grammatical structure. With these four all basic Aymara sentences are formed, viz:

underlying questions: -xa/-ti yes/no
-xa/-sa information

basic affirmative statement: -xa/-wa

basic negative statement: -xa/-wa/-ti

A simpler type is the plain -wa, with the correlates of plain -sa and plain -ti.

All of the rest of Aymara syntax flows from these basic structures; without them Aymara is but a list of words.

2. Markable Structures in basic sentences.

Sentence suffixes mark grammatical units which may be simple or more complex. This section discusses those which may occur in simple sentences; subordination, clauses, and complex sentences are discussed in section 4. This section, then, discusses words and phrases.

Sentence suffixes do not interrupt phrases unless the parts thereof are separated by some intervening form.

2.1 Word.

All grammatical words (morphological words) may take sentence suffixes (see Chapter V). The sentence suffix closes the word to further suffixation of any type. Further, the word can no longer be incorporated into a phrase except as head word.

All word types may occur as plain -wa sentences, for example:

Particle:	Jani.w.	'No.'
	Jich"a.w.	'Now.'
Substantives:		
nominals:	Uta.wa.	'House.'
numbers:	Kimsa.wa.	'Three.'
pronouns:	Naya.wa.	'Me.'
	Aka.wa.	'This.'
spatials:	Pata.n.wa.	'On top.'
interrogatives:	Kuna.w.	What.' (in saña embedding, see 4.2)
verbs:	Chur.ī.wa.	'He/she gave.'
nominalizations:	Qull.iri.wa.	'She's a doctor.'
verbalizations :	Nayra.qata.ma.n.k.i.wa.	'It's in front of you.'

2.2 Phrases.

A phrase is a grammatical structure of two or more words which may occupy the slot of a single word and which is thus marked by a single sentence suffix as a unit.

2.21 Verb phrases.

Verb phrases most commonly occurring are easily breakable, and easily take sentence suffixes even within construction, i.e., complements and verbs. They are not really phrases in the syntactic sense, but redundancies, but are included here because a 'phrase perception' will leave complements and -ta and -na phrases unmarked unless there is some readily observed reason for marking. For unmarked examples and regularly marked see 1.2. above. Other kinds are illustrated here.

Kun.jam.s lura.p.x.ta aka tunt.xa.

'How do you all make tunta?' (zero complement)

Uk"ama.x jaqi.x jayra yat.t'a.ta.:.x.pacha.y yapu lura.ña.t.xa.

'Then the people must have become accustomed to being too lazy to work in the fields.' (on -ta phrase)

Aka.n.x taqi kuna.w ach.u

'Here everything is produced.' (on -na phrase)

Uliwya.n mama.pa.x niy pirtun.xa.rak.chi.y Ruwirtu.ru.xa.

'Olivia's mother has doubtless now forgiven Robert.' (on -ru complement)

The only real verb phrase is that of -ña + V, and only few verbs may fill the V slot - munaña 'to want to', yatiña 'to know', yanaña 'to try to', and the latter is limited to this construction or corresponding subordinations. The -ña part is a zero complement, thus the allomorph is always -ñ, also, therefore, {-wa} may be a zero here. Other sentence suffixes do not tend to occur.

Aymar yati.qa.ñ mun.ta.

'I want to learn Aymara.'

Linkwistika.mp yanap.t'a.ñ muna.rak.ta

'I also want to help with linguistics.'

May yati.ñ mun.irista.

'I would like to know something.'

Uka.t tayka.x ⟨il ap.su.si.: ap.su.si.:⟩ sa.s an.su.ñ yana.tayna.

'Then the old lady tried to thread the needle.'

The Spanish borrowing puyriña 'to be able to' has joined the pattern.

Jani.puni.w ap.su.ñ puyr.ka.tayna.ti s.i.w

'They say she still couldn't thread it.'

Occasionally the construction may occur with other verbs, where it is more genuinely a zero complement rather than this particular VP.

Jani.w naya.x. sum aymar parla.ñ yat.k.t.ti.

'I don't know how to speak Aymara well.'

The complexity of verbs is internal, in derivation and in inflection, rather than in phrases.

2.22 Noun phrases.

Substantive phrases are treated extensively in Chapter VIII section 4; only a brief summary is presented here.

2.22.1 Modifier plus head:

Naya.taki.x jiwaki.w aka qut irwaqa.xa.

· 'For me, this river bank is beautiful.'

The mark of this type of phrase is that the vowel of the modifier remains with 2 vowels, is dropped if three. Two or more modifiers may be nested phrases or sequential modifiers. If nested, the 2/3 rule applies to the internal unit, as is the case in this example. See 4.21.21.1. Also, any substantive suffix may occur with the head, thus making numerous types/uses of NP's possible.

2.22.2 -n + uka 'chez', a person's abode:

Sometimes written -nuka as a simple suffix: no suffixes are permitted to intervene, nor are the parts of this phrase ever separated.

Purp"isur Mamani.n uka.ru.w qurpach.t'a.ya.si.si.p.k.ta.

'We're staying at Professor Mamani's.'

2.22.3 Possessive phrase; splittable, but not easily. Each part may occur alone, the first half normally verbalizing. Possession may nest; thus the construction is recursive.

$$\text{possessor} + \text{-na} + \text{possessed} + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{-xa}\\ \text{-ma}\\ \text{-pa}\\ \text{-sa}\end{matrix}\right\}$$

Split phrase:

Juma.n.x kuna.s suti.ma.xa.

'And yours, what is your name?'

nested phrase:

Naya.n achila.xa.n, achila.naka.pa.w ampara.mp waka.mpi.s lura.p.xa.:na.

'But my grandfather's grandfathers worked with their hands and oxen.'

2.22.4 -mpi phrases. {-mpi} acts to conjoin two NP's, the total taking the relevant sentence suffixes and other independent and noun suffixes applicable to the whole.

...ampara.mp waka.mpi.s ... 'with hands and oxen'

kanka.mp p"uti.mp jallpa.wayk'a.mpi. x yämas kusa.pini.w

'Then roast meat with boiled chuño with aji sauce is just delicious.'

2.23 Reduplicative phrases.

There are three types: one with vowel drop, one with -ki on the first and -xa on the second occurrence of the item, and one without vowel drop.

The first type consists of a given root or stem repeated twice, the first time without vowel, the second time with all relevant suffixes. The meaning is approximately 'to each its own', 'each one'.

Mark marka.:.tan.wa aka pacha.n.xa, sar.naqa.wi.sa.s may.j may.ja.raki.wa.

'We are many communities on this earth, and our culture is each one different.'

The second type take the independent suffix {-ki} on the first nominal and the sentence suffix {-xa} on the second. It means approximately 'from x to x,' 'little by little'.

aru.k aru.x

Kawki.:.ir aru.naka.tix aka uraqi.n.x ut.j.k.i.x aru.k aru.x uka.x

k'ach"a.t k'ach"a.t suma yat.xa.tata.wa.

'Little by little, all of the languages in the world will be

thoroughly investigated.'

The third type involves a nominal with vowel retained and repetition of same plus relevant suffixes. The meaning of this pattern is emphatic ('very') or multiple ('many' or simply plural).

Uka jach'a jach'.jama.x aka kinta.naka.w.

'The 'big guys', sort of, are the Quintas.'

3. Permutations of base sentences.

This section includes only the more important of the permutations; some, particularly special uses of the combination sentence suffixes, are left for a later study.

3.1 Obligatory permutations.

{-wa} does not occur in either imperative or suppositional sentences. Most simply {-wa} will simply be dropped.

Plain sentences:

Nayra.:.s.k.chi. 'It could be too soon.'

Pä tunka kimsa.ni.r.kam apa.si.m. 'Take it for twenty-three.'

Nay p"ay.kata.:. 'Let me cook.'

Nin p"aya.si.ñan. 'Let's cook.'

Two part sentence:

Uk"ama.x pist'a.rap.ita pä aruwa. 'Then weigh me 2 arrobas!'

Ina.s Qaqapi.mpi.r mak"at.t'a.p.x.chi.:. 'Maybe we'll climb Qaqapi hill too.'

Often, however, other suffixes will occur in lieu of {-wa}; in the case of imperative {-ya} is the most frequent, with many others, e.g. -xa, -xaya also occurring; in the case of the suppositional -xaya is probably the most frequent, though others do occur, -chim being unique to this permutation.

Plain sentences:

Q"ana.:.chi.ni.y.	'It will become clear.'
Iskap.chi.xay.	'He escaped.'
Riwaj.t'a.ma.y.	'Come down, please.'
Pä tunka.r.kama.y chur.ita.	'Give it to me for twenty, please.'

In two part sentences, {-xa} may either remain or also change. It remains more often with the suppositional; changes more often with the imperative.

Jich"a.x may.j.t'a.s.chi.:ta.ya.	'Now you'll probably miss them.'
Uka.x ch'usa uta.ki.:.chi.xay.	'But that house is so empty.'
Uka.xay pä tunk kimsa.ni.r apa.si.m.	'That take for 23.'

All of the other non-personal-knowledge tenses and the out-of-reach tenses (indirect remote, desiderative, remonstrator, inferential) and the future when being used as a polite command may act in the same way, although all of these may occur with -wa. In general, if the statement is not directly answering a question, is not referring to a question, e.g., ! is opening a new topic, it will take the permutations previously mentioned. Otherwise it may act as described in section 1. It is required to do so if answering a direct question.

Examples of permutations:

Pis.t'a.:ma.	'Let me weigh it for you.' (future as imperative)
Maki.y q"ip.t'a.raki.sma.	'Hurry be careful you don't get left behind.' (desiderative as cautionary)
May yati.ñ mun.irista.	'There is something I'd like to know.' (desiderative changing the subject)

Uk"ama.x jaqi.x jayra yat.t'a.ta.:.x.pacha.y yapu lura.ña.t.xa.

'Then the people must have become accustomed to being too lazy to work in the fields.'

3.2 Questions Permutations

There is one obligatory permutation: the alternate question. This may involve either {-sti} or {-xa} or the suffix {-cha} may occur additionally. {-cha} is obligatory on the second item of the alternation.

Kun.s chura.n.ta, junt'u uma manq'.cha. Junt'u um chura.n.ta.

What did you give him over here, breakfast or lunch? I gave him breakfast here.

Kun.s anaki.n.ta k"uchi iwis.cha. Iwis anaki.n.ta.

What did you herd over this way, pigs or sheep? I herded the sheep over.

There are several optional permutations; only a few will be mentioned here. {-cha} may be used on a single item to imply an alternative.

Juma.naka.x makina.mpi.ch lura.px.ta.xa:. 'And do you all work with machines?'

{-raki} is a frequent permutation. It may be a complainer question, annoyance or off-hand question, a defiant or challenge question. Diffidence or pull-back may also be involved. {-raki} replaces {-sa/-ti}. The more {-sti}'s in a {-raki} question, the more challenge offered the interrogated, especially if both suffixes occur on the same word.

Qawq".rak mayi.s.k.ta.sti. 'And how much are you asking?'

Qawq"a aru.rak mun.ta.sti. 'How many arrobas do you want?'

Kun.pin.rak jich"a.st aka.n.st lura.:ta.sti.

'And what exactly are you going to do here now?'

Kuna.t juk'a.mp.rak yati.qa.ñ mun.ta.sti.

'What do you want to learn more for?'

Inklisa.st kuna ch'ama.puni.raki.:.spa.sti.

'How hard could English be!?'

K"iti.n uk.rak sar.i kumpayri.pa.n uk.cha.

'Where did he go, or did he go to his compadre's?'

Jich"a.kama.st kun.rak lur.ta. 'And what were you doing up til now?!'

{-sti} alone, replacing {-ti} adds a tone of politeness to utterances beyond the first, particularly in greeting situations; indeed, the lack of such may be considered abrupt or rude.

Waliki.w, juma.sti. 'Fine, and you?'

Juma.naka.st yati.si.p.xa.sma.ti.sti. 'But would you be able to get used to it there?'

{-xa} is frequently translated as a question; it is actually more like a heavily attenuated statement that seeks some confirmation from the environment.

Sara.:.xa. 'Shall I go?' or, better, 'I'm off, O.K.?'

{-sti} replaces {-xa} when {-ti} occurs on the negative particle.

Juma.naka.st jani.t ch'uñ ch'uñ.u.cha.p.k.ta.sti.

'Don't you people make ch'uño?'

Pipsikula.st jani.t ut.j.k.i. 'Isn't there any Pepsi Cola?'

Ch".armant"i.x juma.xay iskuyla.r jut.ta.xa.

'This morning you came to school, didn't you?'

The same replacement may occasionally occur in other cases, particularly in the prime function of {-sti} as follow-up.

Ak.ni.:. iri.sti kuna.raki.sa. 'And this here, what is it?'

Chiqa.t juma.naka.st p"axsi.r jaq k"ita.p.x.ta.sti.

'Is it true you-all sent people to the moon?'

3.3 Optional Permutations

These are much less frequent than the previous two types although they are very important to overall Aymara syntactic style. Since an in-depth study is currently under way, only a few exemplary types are listed by way of illustration as to what is possible.

{-sti} may replace {-xa} in a closely-knit text, thus tying it closely together.

Jupa.sti Karlu sa.ta.w. 'And he is called Carlos.'

Jayp'u.sti maki.w juta.:ta. 'And in the evening you come in a hurry.'
(The last of morning injunctions to a child.)

{-sa} may replace {-wa} making the statement an exclamation of the previously known.

Sa.rak.sma.sa:. 'I already told you!'

{-pi:} may replace {-wa} giving the statement a special importance, especially reaffirming that stated by the other person.

Naya.x uka.n.ka.ya:.t.piy. 'I was indeed there.'

Yati.si.p.x.irist.piy. 'We would indeed get used to it.'

{-xaya} may replace {-wa} giving a different kind of attention-calling — actually like the {-xa} question above.

Na.naka.x inklisa.k.*xay* parla.px.s.t.*xa*. 'We only speak English you know.'

{-sa$_2$} often occurs, more so than any other suffix, with both {-xa} and {-wa} in the same sentence, usually 'spelling out' what is involved in the one to which it refers.

'Spelling out' {-wa}:

Aka.n.*x* taqi kuna.w ach.u ch'uqi.*s* apilla.*s* ulluku.*s* jawasa.*s* alwirija.*s* tawri.*s* tunqu.*s* siwulla.*s*.

'Here everything is produced: potatoes, oca, ulluco, broad beans, peas, dried beans, corn, onions.'

As a lister it may simply replace {-xa}:

Na.nak.*x* jani.*w* apill.*s* ulluk.*s* uñ.t'a.p.k.t.*ti*.

'We've never seen either oca or ulluco.'

An important part of the command of style and rhetoric, of excellence in public oratory, lies in the mastery of the nuances of the permutations mentioned here and a very great many not mentioned. It is a fascinating variegated area of Aymara grammar, the study of which is far from complete.

4. Multi-Sentence Structures

This section can be considered only an introduction or guide to the complexities of multi-sentence structures.

4.1 Context and Paragraph Structure

Sentences may be conjoined with little or no modification by juxtaposition, or several of the uses of *uka* or with the use of {-sa$_2$} or {-cha} or a combination of these.

4.11 Juxtaposition

Short and simple sentences are frequently joined simply by juxtaposition.

tata.*x* tiyu.pa.*w* ruwirtu sa.ta.*w*. 'The man is his uncle. Robert he's called.'

-xa/-wa sentence plus *plain -wa* referring back to the first sentence.

4.12 {-sa$_2$}

The lister has as one of its prime functions the linkage of sentences over even very long context, thus the occurrence of a {-sa$_2$} in a given sentence will thereby link it to the previous context. There is no known limit to the number of {-sa$_2$} links or to the length of contexts.

Maki.y q"ip.t'a.raki.sma. K"a wawa.naka.s niya.s sar.xa.px.i.
'Hurry up or you'll be late. Those children have already gone.

Janiw jich"a.x na.naka.x waka.mp lur.xa.px.t.ti. Achila.xa.n
achila.naka.pa.w ampara.mp waka.mpi.s lura.pxa.:na.
'We don't work with oxen now. But my great-great-grandfathers
worked with their hands and with oxen.'

4.13 {-cha}

The question alternation may involve sentences. In most cases of alternate questions where sentences are involved, there is additionally the linker uka with the negative jan. This structure will often involve a repetition of the principal construction at the beginning and end of the sentence.

Jupa.naka.x sara.px.i.x

aka uraqi.n.jama.t jaqi.x ut.ja.spa

jan uka.x

jani.ch

uk yat.iri.ki.w (-iri embedded sentence) sara.px.i.

'They go to find out whether or not there are people on the moon like on earth.'

4.14 {uka}

{uka} alone is most often used in the forms uka.t and uka.x or, on occasion, uka.t.x. With the first, uka.t, the connection is close, of cause or result or sequential in time. With uka.x the connection is looser. Other forms based on uka may be used similarly, such as uk"ama.

$\underbrace{\text{aymar yati.qa.ñ mun.ta}}_{\text{plain-wa}}$ uka.t $\underbrace{\text{naya.x linkwistika.mp yanap.t'a.ñ muna.rak.ta}}_{\text{-xa/-wa}}$

'I want to learn Aymara and then I want to help with linguistics.'

$\underbrace{\text{jani.w naya.x sum aymar parla.ñ yat.k.t.ti}}_{\text{negative -xa/-wa}}$ uka.t

$\underbrace{\text{aka Wuliwy marka.r jut.ta}}_{\text{plain -wa}}$

'I don't know Aymara well, that's why I came to Bolivia.'

4.2 Saña Embedding

The only verb directly tied to multi-sentence structure is saña 'to say'. It is used to form quotations which are widely used in Aymara. The structure is called the 'reportive'; semantically it forms a continuum with verb tenses, being the strongest of the non-personal knowledge forms. The continuum would be, including the reportive: personal knowledge/ reportive/ inferential/ suppositional.[2]

The simplest reportive structure is: speaker + quote + saña jupa.x ⟨waliki.w ⟩s.i.w. 'He said "fine."' (plain -wa embedded in -xa/-wa).

More commonly, the structure is: speaker + quote + sasa + saña. That is, the main form of saña is preceded by the {-sa} subordinate form of saña;[3] this form normally carries the main sentence suffix. One result is that the 3>3p form of saña in this construction comes to sound like a suffix or clitic, since it is an anomalous single syllable. Jupa.x ⟨wali.kiw⟩ sa.sa.w s.i. 'He "fine" so saying said.' The same preference applies to the interrogative verb kamsaña. Jupa.x ⟨kam.sa.sa.s⟩ s.i. 'What did he say?' With final devoicing of the vowel in this structure, the main verb may be virtually inaudible.

With the quote itself, most of the optional permutations will be omitted. Thus, for a command that was originally Apasimay. 'Take it with you,' the reportive will be: Jupa.x ⟨apa.si.m⟩ sa.sa.w s.i. 'She said 'Take it with you.'

When asking an information question within the reportive, the interrogative will occur where the answer is desired, but the question suffix occurs with saña. Jupa.x ⟨ qawq".0 mayi.s.k.ta⟩ sa.sa.s s.i 'He said "How much are you asking?"'

Tata turista.x ⟨kuna.w uka.x⟩ sa.sa.s s.i. 'The tourist said "What's that?"'

The self-reportive is the regular way for indicating plans, opinions, ideas, self-questioning (wonder), etc.

Naya.x ⟨kuna.ru.ch sara.p.x.pach⟩ si.s.t.way. 'I said to myself 'or what could they be going for?"' (i.e. 'I thought they went for something more important!')

The reportive is extraordinarily common, which gives rise to the hypothesis that saña may be becoming virtually an auxiliary verb. Also, saña embeddings are frequent in more complex multi-sentence structures, as the following, which combines juxtaposition and saña embedding.

Jich"a.x may.j.t'a.s.chi.:ta.ya; ⟨jan makina.naka.x aka.n ut.j.k.i.t⟩ s.i.

Now you'll probably miss them; "There are no machines here" they say.'

4.3 Subordination

There are three types of subordination: one involving a sentence with a main verb where that verb is reduced in form allowing it to be incorporated into a new structure; one involving any kind of sentence with {-xa} (normally) replacing {-sa}, {-wa}, {-ti}, allowing incorporation; one involving the use of uka as a resumator, permitting the most complex of structures. Combinations of the types are not uncommon.

4.31 Non-uka Subordination

Without uka subordination is usually simpler and incorporation may even be into phrase or phrase-like structures.

4.31.1 Verb Reduction

The verb may reduce either to regular subordinate or to purposive subordinate. Regular subordinate is either personal or non-personal knowledge. Purposive subordinate is either expanding or contracting.

4.31.1.1 Regular Subordination -sa/-sina.

The only inflective verb feature which remains is that of personal {-sa} versus non-personal {-sina} knowledge. The structure is basically a nominal structure, although suffixes other than sentence or independent suffixes are rare indeed on the subordinate; independent suffixes follow, thus indicating the thematic rather than inflective nature of the forms.

In most cases, the time of the subordinate clause and the main clause are not far apart - if not simultaneous the subordinate precedes. The actors are also usually, but not necessarily, the same. When time and/or actors are different, other types of subordination are preferred.

Uka.t sillp'i.ra.sin wan.t'a.ya.ña.	'After peeling, it must be frozen again.'

(In this example, {-wa} becomes > 0 because of the non-personal knowledge form, here reflecting contingency.)

Mariya.x lapis ala.sa.w jupa.r chur.i.	'Mary, buying a pencil, gave it to her.'

4.31.1.2 Purposive Subordination -iri/-ñataki

Purposive subordinations, like regular, are basically nominal structures; however, they much more readily take noun suffixes and may even, on occasion, be reverbalized. The subordinate is the purpose of the main clause; in the case of {-iri} it is narrow focused purpose; in the case of {-ñataki} the purpose is broadening and expanding. The suffixes replace all inflections. {-ñataki} may show person to be benefitted as a nominal construction: the nominal possessive personal suffix is included between {-ña} and {-taki}.

Jich"ax tinta.ru.w pipsikul ala.s.ir sar.i.
'Now he is going to a store to buy Pepsi Cola.'

Ch'uq llamayu.ñani p"iry sara.ña.taki.
'We'll harvest potatoes to go to market.'

4.32 Subordination with {-xa}

{-xa} or occasionally some other suffix, such as {-:} may replace {-wa}, {-sa}, {-ti} with subsequent subordination of the sentence with no other accompanying mark. Thus {-xa} as attenuator also acts as subordinator.

> Uk"ama.x jaqi.x jayra yat.t'ta.:.x.pacha.y yapu lura.ña.t.xa 'Then the people must have become used to being too lazy to work in the fields.'
>
> Awtu.w jan ut.j.k.pacha.ti jan uk.cha.x jawir jan mak"ata.ni.ñ.jama.:.k.chi.ti. 'Maybe there wasn't a car, or else she couldn't get across the river.' (In this case, the alternate question has been reduced to subordinate.)

4.33 Uka Subordination

Uka is about the most versatile and useful root in the language. Its uses as a demonstrative and as a linker have already been discussed, as well as its unique position as head of a noun phrase (jupan uk 'at her house'). Uka may also act as a resumator of any kind of a grammatical structure, thus reducing this structure to that of a simple noun, and in this way permitting its subordination. Some other features are characteristic of the structure to be subordinated, but subordination is made effective through the resumating action of uka. Indeed, it may act alone, suffixless, as total resumator.

Characteristics of the structure to be subordinated

Verbs occurring in structures to be subordinated normally take the incompletive aspect {-ka}; completion being the prerogative of principal structures. {-wa} is replaced in subordinate structures by {-sa$_2$}, {-xa}, {-tixa}, {-tiya} or other attenuating permutations. Interrogatives occurring in subordinate structures are marked with {-tixa} or {-tiya}, and are then subordinate indefinites (non-subordinate indefinites are marked with {-sa$_2$}).[4]

Examples of uka as resumator are hard to give because of their extraordinary length and complexity. Those given are presented with individual analysis:

1. Embedded sentence resumated by uka

Kuna aru.naka.tix	whatever language
aka uraqi.n ut.j.k.i.x	on this earth there be
uk.xa.t yati.ña.wa.	about that it is necessary to know.
main clause	

{-xa.ta} thus is suffixed to the embedded sentence represented by uka, making the main clause a plain -wa sentence, obligatory. The subordinate has {-tixa/-xa} instead of {-xa/-wa}. Note also the use of the aspect {-ka} in the verb.

2. K"iti.naka.*tix*

jaqi sar.naqa.wi.naka istury.*k*.i

uka.naka.*y* aka.t q"ipa.ru yati.y.ch.istani.

'Whoever

studies the cultures of people

they will someday inform us.'

The first two lines are resumed by *uka*; {-wa} is completely replaced because it is a suppositional sentence. Incompletive aspect occurs in the verb.

3. Jupa.naka.*x* sara.p.x.i.*x*

aka uraqi.n.jama.*t* jaqi.*x* ut.ja.spa jan uka.*x* jani.*ch*

uk yat.iri.ki.*w*

sara.p.x.i.

'They go

as on this earth people there might be or rather not that

that to find out

they go.'

The second line constitutes the subordinated sentence itself, the subordination marked only with {-xa}. The first and fourth lines are repetitions of the principal clause or part thereof - not uncommon in long complex sentences. *Uk* of the third line resumates the whole complexity of the second line, and then itself has an additional purposive embedding. The main clause, with a resumator of a sentence with one embedding plus one of its own, is nevertheless a *plain -wa* sentence.

4. Kamisa.raki liy.t'a.ta.*x*

jani.*xay* aymara.*x* kastillan.jama.*k*.chi.*ti.xa*

nayra.qata isturya.ña.ma.*w*

kun.jam.*sa* isturya.p.x.i.*x* yaq"a iryuma.nak.*xa*

uk"ama.

As can be read
Aymara is in no way like Spanish
rather you must study it
just as other languages are studied
thus.

The example here is of uka as total resumator, here in the form of uk"ama. The first four lines are neatly resumated by the fifth and all tied together. This particular structure, with uka as absolute, does not even demand sentence suffixes in the main clause - of which uka is the single member. In this pile up, {-xa} is predominately used as the subordinating sentence suffix. {-wa} occurs in the third sentence giving an overriding urgency to the obligation. In the fourth sentence, {-sa$_2$} is used, tying the whole structure together more forcefully.

4.4 Combinations

There is no known limit on combinations of subordinations known. A few examples are here as illustrations. Many examples also occur incidentally to illustration of other points; the alert reader could spot them looking back.

1. Juxtaposition - {-iri} + {-cha} (with jan uka)

Kuna.ru.rak p"axsi.r sara.px.i.s uka tata.naka.sti
ut.j.iri
jan uka.x aliq
uñ.j.t'.iri.ki.cha.:.

'But why did they go those men, to live, or else rather just to look around?'

2. uk"ama + {-iri} + {-sa$_2$}

Uk"ama.x juma.x t"aya.n sar.naq.iri.s yati.ta.:.pacha:.ta.xay.

'Then you, no doubt, are accustomed to living in the cold.'

3. uk"ama + {-iri} + uka.t

Waliki.w uk"ama.x na.naka.x juta.pxa.:.w linkwistik yati.q.iri
uka.t juma.r aymar yati.cha.p.xa.raki.:ma.

'O.K., then we'll come to learn linguistics, and we'll teach you Aymara.'

Recognition of the underlying sentence structures is essential to the recognition of subordination and of the role of sentence suffixes. {-xa} particularly may be acting on any given form, at virtually any level of structure. This is true of most sentence suffixes. Studies of subordination and, in general, syntactic structure in Aymara are continuing; it is hoped that future publications will carry us deeper into the complexities of Aymara syntax.

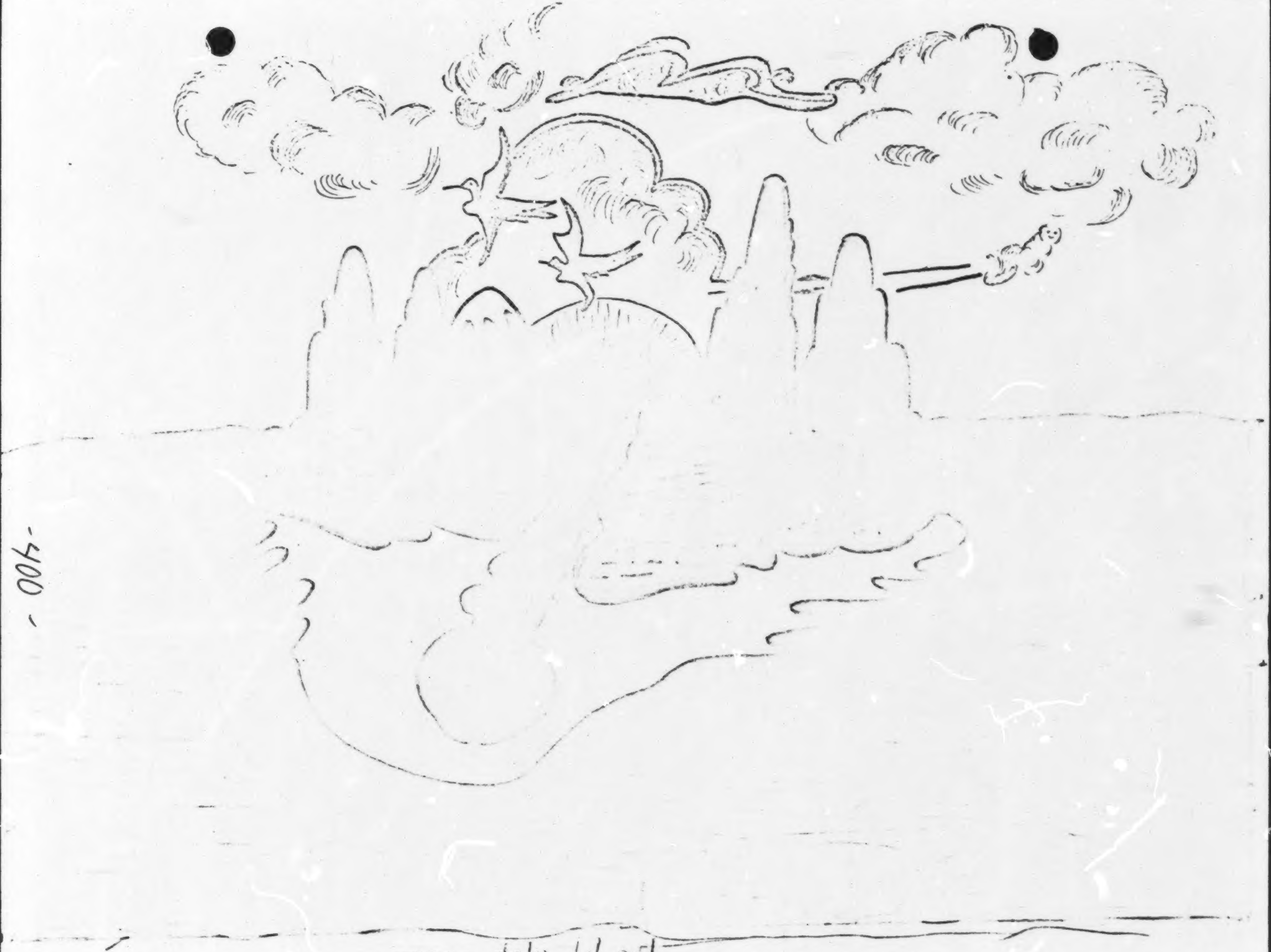
FOOTNOTES

[1] The whole time/space continuum is under current study - the present account is not, by any means, complete or adequate.

[2] I have been endlessly impressed with the ability of so many Aymara to reconstruct, word for word, a conversation at which I had also been present. The most frequent question, virtually the only question, is 'what did X say?', not think, or want, or decide. Also tied to this is what to the IE speaker an amazing ability to remember the exact source of one's information.

[3] The subordinate form in the reportive is always the personal knowledge form, as part of the nature of the reportive. The other form of saña is possible, but it is not common, and is a different structure - not the reportive.

[4] These indefinites are sometimes considered to be relative pronouns from IE influence. This is not the case: subordination is accomplished thru uka ; no case of interrogative and {-tixa} has been found without an accompanying uka. This attitude is, rather, simply another example of lingocentricity.



Isla del sol

This volume, AYMAR GRAMMATICAL SKETCH TO BE USED WITH AYMAR AR YATIQAÑATAKI, is the third of three volumes designed for the teaching of Aymara as a foreign language. The first volume is AYMAR AR YATIQAÑATAKI; the second is TEACHER'S MANUAL TO ACCOMPANY AYMAR AR YATIQAÑATAKI. The three volumes are designed and keyed to be used together.

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